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(Eliot)
MAN

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# MEMOIRS

OF

# THE LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

# REV. JOHN ELIOT,

APOSTLE OF THE N. A. INDIANS.

BY MARTIN MOORE, A. M.

PASTOR OF THE CHURCH IN NATICK, MASS.

"Not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles."—PAUL.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY T. BEDLINGTON.

Flagg & Gould, printers.

1822.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.
1899.

DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT;

L. S. *District Clerk's Office*

BE it remembered, that on the twenty fourth day o October A. D. 1822, in the forty seventh year of th Independence of the United States of America, Timo thy Bedlington of the said District, has deposited i this office the title of a Book the right whereof he claim as proprietor in the words following, *to wit*—"Memoi of the Life and Character of Rev. John Eliot, apostl of the N. A. Indians, By Martin Moore, A. M. pasto of the Church in Natick, Mass. Not a whit behin the very chiefest Apostles." *Paul.* In conformity t the act of the Congress of the United States, entitle "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by se curing the copies of maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the time therein mentioned:" and also to an Act entitled, "An act supplementary to an Act, entitled, An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies o maps, charts and books, to the authors and proprie tors of such copies during the times therein mentioned and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of de signing, engraving and etching historical, and other prints."

JNO. W. DAVIS, { *Clerk of the District of Massachusetts*

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# PREFACE.

THE Compiler of this little work, being stationed on the ground, where Eliot planted his first Indian Church, and organized his first Indian town, has naturally felt a deep interest in his character. I have looked through most of the publications that treat of the early history of New-England, collected what facts I could concerning him, and arranged them in the order in which they will be found in the following pages. I have related them principally in the language of Eliot himself and his contemporaries. The phraseology may, perhaps, be considered, as antiquated and repulsive to the refinements of modern taste; but I presume that many readers will not be displeased to see the aged Eliot, clothed in the garb of his own times.

In the course of the narrative, I have taken occasion to intersperse a few observations and reflections of my own. In drawing his char-

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acter as a missionary and in the concluding remarks, I have endeavoured to encourage exertions to civilize and evangelize the tribes of our western forests. This little work, " with all its imperfections on its head," is now presented to the christian public.

Imperfect as it is, yet, believing that it contains more facts relative to the trials, labours and success of Mr. Eliot than are to be found in any single publication, I hope it will be interesting to the antiquary, and useful to the christian.

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# MEMOIRS

OF

# REV. JOHN ELIOT.

## CHAPTER I.

### CONVERSION AND EARLY DAYS OF ELIOT.

The Rev. John Eliot was born at Nasin, Essex county, England, in 1604. We have not been able to obtain much knowledge of his ancestors. There is nothing related of his parents except that they gave him a liberal education and were exemplary for their piety. "I do see," says this excellent man, "that it was a great favour of God to me that my first years were seasoned with the fear of God, the word and prayer." When Mr. Eliot left the university of Cambridge, he became a teacher of youth; and while he led children and youth in the paths of virtue, acquired also a knowledge of the human heart. In his early years he became acquainted with Mr. Hooker* who was instrumental in leading him into a right

* Thomas Hooker, minister of Hartford and father of the Connecticut churches. He was pre-eminently distinguished as a preacher, and a writer, and as a man of piety. *American Annals.*



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knowledge of the doctrines and duties of religion.

In the year 1631, Mr. Eliot arrived at Boston, and the succeeding year, Nov. 5, 1632, was settled as teacher of the Church in Roxbury.—Gov. Winthrop says, "Mr. John Eliot, a member of Boston Congregation, whom the company intended presently to call to the office of teacher, was called to be a teacher to the company at Roxbury; and though Boston labored all they could, both with the congregation at Roxbury and with Mr. Eliot himself, alleging their want of him, and the covenant between them, yet he would not be diverted from accepting the call at Roxbury; so he was dismissed."*

When Mr. Eliot came to Boston there was no officiating minister in that place. Mr. Wilson had gone to England, and the religious service was carried on by Gov. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Nowel the ruling Elder. Mr. Hubbard says these men accepted the charge, "knowing well that the princes of Judah, in king Hezekiah's reign, were appointed to teach the people out of the law of God."

Mr. Wilson left Boston the latter end of March, 1631, Mr. Eliot arrived November following, with the Governor's Lady and sixty other persons in the ship Lyon. He immediately joined the Boston Church and preached with them till he settled at Roxbury. The prior engagement of Mr. Eliot to settle with

* Winthrop's Journal.

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the people at Roxbury, who came over with him in the same ship, and to whom he was warmly attached, was sufficient to satisfy his friends of the Church in Boston, and they gave him a regular dismission. He was accordingly united with the Church at Roxbury as their Teacher, and Mr. Welde was called the next year to be their Pastor.*

Before Mr. Eliot left England he had engaged himself to a worthy young lady, who followed him to America, the next year, where they were married in October, 1632. "The *wife of his youth*" (says Dr. Mather with his accustomed but agreeable quaintness) "lived with him until she became *the staff of his age;* and she left him not until about three or four years before his departure to those heavenly regions, where they now together *see light.* She was a woman very eminent both for holiness and usefulness; and she excelled most of the *daughters that have done virtuously.* God made her a blessing not only to her family, but to her neighbourhood; but when at last, she died, I heard and saw her aged husband, who else very rarely wept, yet now with tears

* In the early history of New England the Churches had two ministers, one of whom was called Pastor and the other Teacher. The Cambridge Platform says that "the office of Pastor and Teacher seems to be distinct. The Pastor's special work is to attend to *exhortation*, and therein to administer the word of wisdom; and the Teacher is to attend to *doctrine*, and therein to administer a word of knowledge."

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over her coffin, before the good people, a vast concourse of whom had come to her funeral, say, '*here lies my dear, faithful, pious, prudent, praying wife! I shall go to her, and she shall not return to me!*' my reader will of his own accord, excuse me from bestowing any further epitaphs upon that gracious woman."

Six children were the fruit of this marriage, five sons and one daughter. The daughter and one of the sons survived the parents. Three sons died young. Their father had dedicated them all to the work of the ministry; and one of these three, who bore his parent's name, had lived to become a zealous and able preacher both to the Settlers, and the Indians, and died in the triumph of the faith.*

All his children gave such satisfactory evidence of piety, that our Eliot venerable in years and virtues, would say, "*I have had six children: and I bless God for his free grace, they are all either with Christ or in Christ*, and my mind is now at rest concerning them." And when

* "This son of the apostolic Eliot was the first minister of Newton. His abilities and acceptation in the ministry are said to be pre-eminent. Under the direction of his father he obtained considerable proficiency in the Indian language and was an assistant to him in the missionary employment, until he settled at Newton. Even after his ordination there, he imitated the manner of his father, devoted himself to the instruction of the Indians as well as his own flock; accordingly he preached statedly once in a fortnight to them at Pequimmet (Stoughton) and sometimes at Natick." *Mr. Homer's History of Newton.*

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some asked him, how he could bear the death of such excellent children, he meekly replied; "*my desire was that they should serve God on earth; but if God will choose rather to have them serve him in heaven, I have nothing to object against it, his will be done.*" His youngest son, Benjamin, was many years his assistant in the ministry; and as a son with his father, served him in the gospel. He also died before his father. His third son, Joseph, survived him and maintained the character of an eminent minister.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE DIFFICULTIES ELIOT HAD TO ENCOUNTER.

More than twenty years had passed from the first landing of our fathers in New-England, before they seriously turned their attention to the conversion of the natives.—The difficulties inseparable from their attempts to establish themselves in a wild country, where the natives were frequently hostile, had fully engaged their cares. In the year 1646, however, the General Court of Massachusetts Colony passed an act for the encouragement of attempts to win over the natives to the faith



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of Christ. Mr. Eliot entered most readily into these views, In preparation for the undertaking, he had been for sometime studying the Indian language, with the assistance of a young native who could speak English. This language presented unusual obstacles. The enormous length of many of its words, the consequent slow communication of ideas, the harshness of their pronunciation, and its little affinity with the European tongues, would have discouraged any but a most determined student. "Our readers will stand aghast," says Mather, "at a few instances. The words 'our lusts' are expressed in Indian by a word of thirty two letters—Nummatchekodtantamoonganunnonash." But this is still outdone by the word Kummogkodonattoottummooetiteaonganunnonash, where forty three letters are employed to express our question."* But the heart of this good man was moved with compassion towards the forlorn heathen among whom he lived, and inflamed with true zeal for the glory of his heavenly master. By assiduous labour he surmounted the difficulties of this strange language; and was able in the course of a few months, to speak it intelligibly; after some time, by unwearied industry, he became so complete a master of it, that he reduced it

* As a further specimen of the language we give the title of Mr. Eliot's Bible,—"Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe up—Biblum God, raneeswe Nukkone Testament Kah Wank Testament, Nashpe, John Eliot 4to, Cambridge, 1680."

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to method and published a Grammar. Having finished his Grammar, he wrote at the close, under the full sense of the difficulties, which he had encountered; "Prayers and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing!" It is to be hoped that other missionaries will be stimulated to exertion by his noble example! Thus prepared, he entered on his labours in the year 1646, and in the 42d year of his age. His friends and brethren greatly encouraged him in the work; the neighbouring ministers undertaking to supply his place at Roxbury, while he went among the heathen. But the difficulties that he had to encounter will not appear in their proper light unless the wretched state of the natives be considered.

The following acount of them is abstracted from Dr. Mather. "Know then (he says, in his usual manner) that these doleful creatures are the veriest ruins of mankind. They live in a country full of metals; but these shiftless Indians were never owners of so much as a knife till we came among them; their name for an Englishman was a 'Knifeman.' They live in a country where we now have all the conveniencies of life; but as for them, their housing is nothing but a few mats tied about poles fastened into the earth, where a good fire is their bed clothes in the coldest season; their clothing is but the skin of a beast; their diet has not a greater dainty, than a spoonful of parched meal with a spoonful of water, which will strengthen them to travel for a day to-

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gether. Their physic, except a few odd specifics with which some of them encounter certain cases, is scarcely any thing beyond a hot house, or a Powaw; their hot house is a little cave, where, after they have terribly heated it, a crew of them go and sit and sweat and smoke for an hour together, and then immediately run into some cold adjacent brook, without the least mischief to them; but in most of their dangerous distempers, a Powaw must be sent for, i. e. a Priest; who roars and howls and uses magical ceremonies over the sick man, and will be well paid for it when he is done; if this does not effect the cure, 'the man's time is come, and there's an end.' Their way of living is infinitely barbarous; the men are most abominably slothful, making their poor *squaws*, or wives, to plant, and dress, and barn, and beat their corn and build their *wigwams* or houses for them. Their chief employment, when they will condescend to any, is that of hunting; wherein they will go out some scores if not hundreds, and drive all before them. They continue in a place till they have burnt up all the woods thereabouts, and then they pluck up stakes to follow the wood which they cannot fetch home unto themselves; hence when they inquire about the English, 'why came they hither?' they themselves very learnedly determine the case, 'it was because they wanted firing.' No arts are understood among them, unless just so far as to maintain their brutish conversation, which is little

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more than is to be found among the very beavers upon our streams.

"Their division of time, is by sleeps, moons, and winters; and, by lodging abroad, they have somewhat observed the motion of stars; among which it has been surprising unto me to find that they have always called Charles's wain by the name of Paukunnawaw, or the Bear, which is the name whereby Europeans also have distinguished it. Moreover, they have little, if any traditions among them worthy of our notice; and reading and writing is altogether unknown to them, though there is a rock or two in the country that has unaccountable characters engraven upon it. All the religion they have, amounts unto thus much; they believe that there are many gods, who made and own the several nations of the world; of which a certain great God in the South-west regions of the heavens, bears the greatest figure.

"They believe that every remarkable creature has a peculiar God within, or about it; there is with them a Sun-god, a Moon-god, and the like; and they cannot conceive but that the Fire must be a kind of god, inasmuch as a spark of it will soon produce very strange effects. They believe that when any good or ill happens to them, there is the favour or the anger of a god expressed in it; and hence, as in a time of calamity, they keep a dance, or a day of extravagant, ridiculous devotions to their God: so in a time of prosperity, they likewise

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have a feast, wherein they also make presen one to another.

" Finally, they believe that their chief God Kichtan, or Kautantowit, made a man and a wo man of a stone; which upon a dislike, he brok to pieces, and made another man and a woma of a tree, which were the fountains of all man kind; and, that we all have in us immorta souls, which, if we were godly, shall go to splendid entertainment with Kautantowit; bu otherwise we must wander about in a restles horror forever. But if you say to them any thing of a resurrection, they will reply upo you, 'I shall never believe it.'

" When they have any weighty undertakin before them, it is an usual thing for them t to have their assemblies, wherein they worshi the devil. This was the miserable people which our Eliot propounded unto himself the saving of! And he had a double work incumbent on him; he was to make men of them, ere he could hope to see them saints; they must be civilized ere they could be christianized. He could not as Gregory, once of our nation, see any thing angelical to bespeak his labours for their eternal welfare; all among them was diabolical. To think of raising a number of these hideous creatures unto the elevations of our holy religion, must argue more than common or little sentiments in the undertaker; but the faith of an Eliot could encounter it."

Eliot remembered what God had done in former days; how at first, he caused the cross to

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riumph over the united exertions of wicked nen and devils. He remembered that the commission under which his disciples acted was exceedingly broad: "*Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.*" The Indians were as much the creatures of God as the white people. They were situated in his immediate vicinity, and he felt under solemn obligation to declare unto them *the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of vengeance of our God.* He was encouraged in view of the promise, which the great Head of the church made to his servants who were engaged in publishing tidings of salvation, "*Lo I am with you alway even to the end of the world!*" He that made this promise still lived. He still possessed almighty power, and it was as easy for him to convert the savages of the North American forests, as the polite and learned inhabitants of Europe. Animated by these considerations, Eliot commenced his arduous undertaking.

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## CHAPTER III.

THE COMMENCEMENT AND EARLY PROGRESS OF HIS EXERTIONS TO CIVILIZE AND CHRISTIANIZE THE INDIANS.

Mr. Eliot, having now made sufficient progress in the Indian tongue to have himself understood by them with the occasional aid of an interpreter, entered on his labours among the neighboring tribes. He had but a short distance to travel, before he entered into the wildest scenes of uncivilized life. As our fathers had, at that period, done little more than establish themselves in a few places along the sea-coast, the whole of the interior was in the possession of the natives.* Having given notice to some natives, whose wigwams, or tents, were pitched within a few miles of Roxbury,

* The Indians, a few years before our ancestors settled New-England, were much more numerous than they were when they came here. In the years 1612 and 1613, seven or eight years before the settlement at Plymouth, a mortal epidemic prevailed among them that swept off vast numbers.

Divine Providence thus made way for the quiet and peaceable settlement of our pilgrim fathers. I have discoursed (says Gookin) with some old Indians, that were then youths; who say, that the bodies all over were exceeding yellow, describing it by a yellow garment they shewed me, both before they were dead and

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that he purposed to pay them a visit, he proceeded to their residence in company with three friends, and opened his intercourse with them on the 28th of October, 1646.*

We shall extract the account of his first interviews with the Indians, in his own simple and expressive words, from a scarce tract published in 1647, entitled, after the quaint fashion of the times, "The Day-breaking, if not the Sun-rising, of the Gospel, with the Indians in New-England.†

afterwards. Gookin gives the number of Indians in the year 1674 and their number formerly.

| | *warriors formerly.* | *men in* 1674. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Pequods . . . . | 4,000 . . . . . | 300 |
| 2. Narragansets . . . | 5,000 . . . | about 1,000 |
| 3. Pawkunnawkuts, | about 3,000 . . | nearly extinct. |
| 4. Massachusetts . . . | 3,000 . . . . . | 300 |
| 5. Pawtuckets . | about 3,000 . . . . . | 250 |

* The place where Eliot first began to preach to the Indians was at Nonantum, an hill at the North-East corner of Newton, nearly where Messrs. Haven's and Wiggin's houses now stand.

Gookin thus describes the hill; "The first place he began to preach at was Nonantum, near Watertown, upon the south side of Charles River, about four or five miles from his own house; where lived at that time, Waban, one of their principal men, and some Indians with him."

† See London Missionary Register.



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## First Interview with the Indians.

"A little before we came to their wigwams five or six of the chief men of them met us with English salutations, bidding us much welcome. Leading us into the principal wigwam belonging to Waaubon, we found many men women, and children gathered together from all quarters; having been exhorted thereto by Waaubon their chief minister of justice among them, who himself gives more hope of serious respect to the things of God than any that as yet I have known of that forlorn generation.

"Being all there assembled, we began with prayer, which now was in English, we being not so far acquainted with the Indian language as to express our hearts therein before God of them. We hope to be able to do this ere long, the Indians desiring it, that they also may know how to pray; but we began thus in a tongue unknown to them; partly to let them know that the duty of prayer was serious and sacred, and partly for our own sakes, that we might the more fully agree together in the same request and heart sorrows for them even in that place where God was never wont to be called upon.

"When prayer was ended it was an affecting and yet glorious spectacle, to see a company of perishing and forlorn outcasts diligently attending to the blessed word of salvation the delivered, and professing that they understood all that was then taught them in their own

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tongue. For about an hour and a quarter the Sermon was continued; wherein one of our company* ran through all the principal matters of religion; beginning first with the repetition of the commandments, and a brief explication of them; then shewing the curse and dreadful wrath of God against all those who break them, or any of them, or the least tittle of them; and so applying the whole unto the condition of the Indians then present, with much affection. He then preached Jesus Christ unto them, as the only means of recovery from sin and wrath and eternal death; he explained to them who Christ was, and whither he was gone, and how he will one day come again to judge the world. He spake to them of the blessed state of all those who believe in Christ and know him feelingly; he spake to them also, observing his own method as he saw most fit to edify them, concerning the creation and the fall of man, the greatness of God, the joys of heaven and the horrors of hell; and then urging them to repentance for several known sins wherein they live. On many things of the like nature he discoursed; not meddling with matters more difficult, until they had tasted more plain and familiar truths.

"Having thus in a set discourse familiarly opened the principal matters of salvation to them, we next proposed certain questions, to

* In this modest manner the writer designated himself.—Ed.

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see what they would say to them; so that we might by a variety of means, instruct them in the things of religion. But, before we did this, we asked them if they understood all that which was already spoken: and whether all of them in the wigwam did understand, or only some few. They answered to this question with a multitude of voices, that they all of them understood all that which was spoken unto them.

"We then desired to know of them if they would propose any question to us for the more clear understanding of what was delivered. Whereupon several of them propounded presently several questions, to which we think some special wisdom of God directed them.

One asked, 'How may we come to know Jesus Christ?'

"We answered, that if they were able to read our Bible, the Book of God, therein they would see clearly who Jesus Christ was. But since they could not read that book, we wished them to meditate on what they had now heard out of God's book; and to do this much and often, both when they laid down on their mats in their wigwams and when they rose up and went alone into the fields and woods; so God would teach them. And especially if they used a third help, which was prayer to God; we told them, that although they could not make long prayers, as we English could, yet if they did but sigh and groan, and say thus,—'*Lord, make me to know Jesus Christ,*

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*for I know him not*'—and if they did so again and again with their hearts, that God would teach them to know Jesus Christ; because he is a God that will be found of them that seek him with all their hearts; and hears the prayers of all men, Indian as well as English; and that Englishmen themselves did by this means come to the knowledge of Jesus Christ. And we advised them as a further help, to confess their sins and ignorance unto God; and to acknowledge how justly God might deny them the knowledge of Christ, because of their sins.

"These things were spoken by him who had preached to them, in their own language; borrowing, now and then some small helps from the interpreter, whom we had brought with us, and who could oftentimes express our minds more distinctly than we could ourselves; but this we perceived, that a few words from the preacher were more regarded than many from the Indian interpreter.

"One of them, after this answer, replied to us that he was a little while since praying in his wigwam, unto God and Jesus Christ, that God would give him a good heart; and that while he was praying, one of his fellow Indians interrupted him, and told him, that he prayed in vain, because Jesus Christ understood not what Indians speak in prayers, because he had been used to hear Englishmen pray, and so could well enough understand them, but with Indian language in prayer he thought he was not acquainted, but was a stran-



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ger to it, and therefore could not understand them. His question therefore was, 'whether Jesus Christ did understand, or God did understand Indian prayers?'

"This question sounding just like themselves, we studied to give as familiar an answer as we could; and therefore in this, as in all other answers, we endeavoured to speak nothing without clearing it by some familiar similitude. Our answer summarily was therefore this; that Jesus Christ and God by him made all things; and makes all men, not only English, but Indian men; and if he made them both, then he knew all that was within man and came from man, all his desires, and all his thoughts and all his speeches, and so all his prayers; and if he made Indian men, then he knows all Indians' prayers also. He bade them look upon that Indian basket that was before them; there were black and white straws, and many other things of which they made it; now though others did not know what those things were who made not the Basket, yet he that made it must needs tell all the things in it: so we said it was here.

"Another proposed this question, after this answer; 'Whether Englishmen were ever at any time so ignorant of God and Jesus Christ as themselves?'

"When we perceived the root and reach of this question, we gave them this answer; That there are two sorts of English-

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men; some are bad and naughty, and live wickedly and basely (describing them); and these kind of Englishmen, we told them, were in a manner as ignorant of Jesus Christ as the Indians now are; but there are a second sort of Englishmen, who though for a time they lived wickedly also, like other profane and wicked English, yet, repenting of their sins, and seeking after God and Jesus Christ, they are good men now, and know Christ and love Christ and pray to Christ, and are thankful for all they have to Christ, and shall at last, when they die, go up to Heaven to Christ; and we told them that all these also were once as ignorant of God and Jesus Christ as the Indians are, but by seeking to know him, by reading his book, and hearing his word and praying to him, they now know Jesus Christ; and just so shall the Indians know him, if they so seek him also, although at the present they be extremely ignorant of him.

"After some other questions respecting the commandments, one of them asked, 'How is all the world become so full of people, if they were all once drowned in the flood?'

"We told them at large the story and causes of Noah's preservation in the ark; and so their questioning ended.

"We then saw it to be our time to propose some few questions to them, and so to take occasion thereby to open the things of God more fully.

"Our first question was, whether they did

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not desire to see God, and were not tempted to think that there was no God, because they could not see him?

"Some of them replied thus: That indeed they did desire to see him, if it could be; but they had heard from us that he could not be seen; and they did believe, though their eyes could not see him, yet he was to be seen with their soul within. Hereupon we sought to confirm them the more; and asked them if they saw a great wigwam, or a great house, would they think that Racoons or Foxes built it, that had no wisdom; or would they think that it made itself; or that no wise workmen made it, because they could not see him that made it. No; they would believe some wise workman made it, though they did not see him; so should they believe concerning God, when they looked up to heaven, the sun, moon and stars, and saw this great house which he hath made; though they do not see him with their eyes, yet they have good cause to believe with their souls, that a wise God, a great God, made it.

"We know that a great block in their way to believing, is, that there should be but one God and yet this one God in many places; therefore we asked them, whether it did not seem strange that there should be but one God, and yet, this God be in Massachusetts, at Connecticut, at Quinipeioche, in old England, in this wigwam and in the next, every where? Their answer was by one most sober among

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hem; that indeed it was strange, as every hing else which they heard preached was trange also; and they were wonderful things hat they never heard of before; but yet they thought it might be true, and God was so big every where; whereupon we further illustrated what we said, by wishing them to consider of the light of the sun, which though it be but a creature made by God, yet the same light which is in this wigwam was in the next also, and the same light which was here at Massachusetts was at Quinipeioche also, and in old England also, and every where at one and the same time: much more was it so concerning God.

"We asked them also, whether they did not find somewhat troubling them within, after the commission of sin, as murder, adultery, theft, lying, &c. and what they thought would comfort them against that trouble when they come to die and appear before God?

"They told us that they were troubled; but they could not tell what to say to it, what should comfort them; he therefore who spake to them at the first concluded with a doleful description (so far as his ability to speak in that tongue would permit) of the trembling and mournful condition of every soul that dies in sin, and is cast out of favour with God.

"After three hours' time thus spent with them, we asked them if they were not weary, and they answered, no.—But we resolved to leave them with an appetite. The chief of

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them seeing us conclude with prayer, desire to know when we would come again; so we appointed the time; and having given the children some apples, and the men some tobacco and what else we then had at hand, they desired some more ground to build a town on together; which we did much like of, promising to speak for them to the General Court, that they might possess all the compass of that hill,* upon which their wigwams then stood; and so we departed with many welcomes from them."

Waaubon, in whose wigwam this interesting scene took place, had readily received the previous overtures of Mr. Eliot, and had voluntarily offered his eldest son to be educated and trained up in the knowledge of God; hoping, as he told Mr. Eliot, that his son might come to know God, although he despaired much concerning himself. His son had been accordingly placed under his instruction; and was found, at his first interview, standing by his father among his Indian brethren, dressed himself in English clothes.

## Second Interview with the Indians.

Encouraged by the reception which had been given to his first serious attempt to instruct the natives in Christianity, Mr. Eliot de-

* Nonantum before described.

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termined to pursue his object. On the 14th of November he met, in the wigwam of Waaubon, a still larger number of Indians than before.

After prayer in the English tongue, and catechising the children on a few of the most important points of religion, he addressed the assembly in their own language, to the following effect:

"We are come to bring you good news from the great God Almighty, maker of heaven and earth; and to tell you how evil and wicked men may come to be good; so as, while they live, they may be happy, and when they die, they may go to God and live in heaven."

"He discoursed to them, with much affection for about an hour, concerning the character of God, and the way of reconciliation by Jesus Christ. The whole assembly appeared very serious; one man in particular poured out many tears; and shewed much affliction, without any affectation of being seen.

"When Mr. Eliot ceased, an old Indian asked 'whether it was not too late for one so near death to repent or seek after God?'

"This question (says Mr. Eliot) affected us not a little with compassion. We held forth to them the Bible; and told him what God had said in it concerning such as are hired at the eleventh hour of the day; we told him also that if a father had a son who had been disobedient many years, yet if at last that son fall down on his knees and weep and desire his fa-

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ther to love him, his father is so merciful that he will readily forgive him; so we said it is much more with God, who is a more merciful father to those whom he hath made, than any father can be to his rebellious child, if they fall down and weep and pray and repent and desire forgiveness for Jesus Christ's sake. And we further added, that, like as if a father did call after his child to return and repent, promising him favour, the child might then be sure that his father would forgive him; so now, the day of God was risen upon them, and he had sent us to preach repentance for the remission of sins; and that they might be sure to find favour, though they had lived many years in sin; and that therefore, if now they did repent, it was not too late, as the old man feared; but if they did not come when they were thus called, God would be greatly angry with them, especially considering that now they must sin against knowledge, whereas before we came to them they knew not any thing of God at all. Having spent much time in clearing up the first question, the Indians next asked, 'How came the English to differ so much from the Indians in the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, seeing they had all at first but one father?'

"We confessed (says Mr. Eliot) that it was true that, at first, we had but one father; but after that our first father fell, he had divers children, some were bad and some good. Those that were bad would not take his counsel, but

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departed from him and from God; and those God left alone in sin and ignorance; but others did regard him and the counsel of God by him; and these knew God; and so the difference arose at first, that some, together with their posterity, knew God and others did not.

"And so we told them it was at this day; for like, as if an old man, an aged father amongst them, have many children, if some of them be rebellious against the counsel of the father, he shuts them out of doors and lets them go and regards them not, unless they return and repent; but others that will be ruled by him, come to know his mind; so we said Englishmen seek God, dwell in his house, hear his word, pray to God, and instruct their children out of God's word; hence they come to know God; but Indians' fore-fathers were stubborn and rebellious children, and would not hear the word, did not care to pray, nor teach their children; and hence Indians that now are, do not know God at all; and so must continue unless they repent, and return to God and pray, and teach their children what they now may learn. But withal we told them, that many Englishmen did not know God, but were like to *Kitchamakins* (drunken Indians.)

"Nor were we yet willing to tell them the story of the scattering of Noah's children since the flood, and thereby to show them how the Indians came to be so ignorant, because it was too difficult, and the history of the Bible is reserved for them (if God will) to be opened at



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a more convenient season in their own tongue.—Their third question was; 'How may we come to serve God?'

"We asked him that proposed it, whether he did desire indeed to serve God; he replied 'yes.' Hereupon we said, first, they must lament their blindness and sinfulness, that they cannot serve him; and their ignorance of God's book (which we pointed to) which directs how to serve him. Secondly, that they could not serve God, but by seeking forgiveness of their sins, and power against their sins, through Jesus Christ, who was preached, to them. Thirdly, that like as an Indian child, if he would serve his father, must know his father's will and love his father too, or else he could never serve him; but if he did know his father's will and love him, then he could serve him; and then, if he should not do some things which his father commands him and yet afterwards grieve for it upon his knees before his father, his father would pity and accept him; so we told them it was with God; they must labour to know his will and love him: and then they will be willing to serve him; and if they should then sin, yet grieving for it before God, he would pity and accept them.

"One of them asked, 'if a man has committed adultery or stolen any goods, and the Sachem doth not punish him, nor by any law he is punished, if also he restore the goods he hath stolen, what then? whether is not all well now?' meaning, that if God's law was

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broken and no man punished him for it, that then no punishment should come from God for it; as if, by restoring again, an amends were made to God.

"Although man be not offended (we replied) for such sins, yet God is angry; and his anger burns like fire against all sinners.

"And here we set out the holiness and terror of God, in respect of the least sin. Yet if such a sinner with whom God is angry fly to Jesus Christ, and repent and seek for mercy and pardon for Christ's sake, then God will forgive and pity. Upon the hearing of which answer, he, who proposed the question, drew somewhat back and hung down his head as a man smitten to the very heart; and, within a little while after he broke out into a complaint, '*me little know Jesus Christ.*' We therefore told him, that, like as it was in the morning, at first there was but a little light, then there was more light, then there is day, then the sun is up, then the sun warms and heats, &c. So it was true that they knew but little of Jesus Christ now, but we had more to tell them concerning him hereafter, and after that more, until at last they may come to know Jesus Christ as the English do; and we taught them but a little at a time, because they could understand but little; and if they prayed to God to teach them, he would send his Spirit and teach them more; they and their fathers had lived in ignorance until now; it had been a long night wherein they had slept, and had not

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regarded God; but now the light of day began to break in on them."

Having thus spent the whole afternoon, and night coming on, Mr. Eliot, considering that the Indians formerly desired to know how to pray, and thought that Jesus Christ did not understand Indian language, prepared to pray in their own tongue, and did so for above a quarter of an hour. Several of them were much affected, lifting up their eyes and hands to heaven. Concerning one of them in particular, the following interesting account is given.

"I cast my eye on one that was hanging down his head weeping. He held up his head for a while; yet such was the power of the word on his heart, that he hung down his head again, and covered his eyes again, and so fell weeping abundantly, continuing thus till prayer was ended; after which he presently turns from us and turns his face to a side and corner of the wigwam and there falls a weeping more abundantly by himself, which one of us perceiving went to him and spake to him encouraging words at the hearing of which he fell weeping more and more; so leaving of him, he who spake unto him came unto me (being now gone out of the wigwam) and told me of his tears; so we resolved to go again both of us to him, and speak to him again; and we met him coming out of the wigwam and there we spake again to him, and he there fell into more abundant renewed weeping, like one deeply and inwardly affect-

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ed indeed, which forced us also to such bowels of compassion that we could not forbear weeping over them also; and so we parted, greatly rejoicing, for such sorrow."

"Thus I have, as faithfully as I could remember, given you a true account of our beginnings with the Indians within our bounds; which cannot but furnish matter of serious thought what further to do with these poor natives, the dregs of mankind, and the saddest spectacles of misery of mere men upon earth. We did think to forbear going to them this winter, but this last day's work, wherein God set his seal from heaven of acceptance of our little, makes those of us who are able, to resolve to adventure through frost and snow, lest the fire go out of their hearts for want of a little more fuel; to which we are the more encouraged, in that the next day after being with them, one of the Indians came to his house who preached to them to speak with him; who in private conference wept exceedingly, and said all that night the Indians could not sleep, partly with trouble of mind, and partly with wondering at the things which they heard preached among them; another Indian coming also to him the next day after, told him how many of the wicked Indians began to oppose these beginnings.

"Some hours having been thus passed with them Mr. Eliot asked, 'what do you remember of what was taught you since the last time we were there?'



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"After they had spoken one to another for some time, one of them returned this answer, that they did much thank God for our coming, and for what they heard; they were wonderful things unto them."

### Third Interview with the Indians.

"On the 26th of the same month, Mr. Eliot's friends met the natives again, he himself being unable to join them on this occasion.

"The assembly was not so numerous as before, the Powaws, or priests having dissuaded them from hearing the English ministers, and deterred others by threatening them with death. The preacher noticed these things and discoursed to the Indians on the temptations of Satan, and that the evil heart closed with them, while a good heart would abhor them. They were more serious than they yet had been, and proposed various grave questions.

"At this interview, the natives expressed an earnest desire to be brought out of their vagrant way of life, and to have a portion of land allotted to them for a town; that they might live together in a fixed place, and be taught spinning and other useful arts.

"A few days after this third meeting, Wampas, a wise and grave Indian, came to the English, as a messenger from his brethren to offer them his son, and three other Indian chil-

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dren, that they might be educated in the christian faith.

"This Wampas came also accompanied with two more Indians, young and vigorous men, who offered themselves voluntarily to the service of the English, that, by dwelling in some of their families, they might come to know Jesus Christ: these were two of those men whom they saw weeping, and whose hearts were smitten at the second meeting above mentioned. It is wonderful (says Mr. Eliot) to see what a little leaven will work, when the spirit of Christ hath the setting of it on, even upon hearts and spirits most incapable! An English youth of good capacity, who lodged in Waaubon's wigwam on the night after the third meeting, assured us, that the same night Waaubon instructed all his company out of the things that they had heard that day from the preacher, and prayed among them; and waking often that night, continually fell a praying, and speaking to some or other of the things which he had heard; so that this man (being a man of gravity and chief prudence and counsel among them, although no Sachem or King) is like to be a means of great good to the rest of his countrymen, unless cowardice or witching put an end (as they usually have done) to such hopeful beginnings."

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## Fourth Interview with the Indians.

After the interview which took place on the 9th of December, the Indians offered all their children for christian education. As their poverty rendered it necessary to give instruction freely, preparations were made for establishing a school among them.

Various questions were proposed, as usual, on the part both of the Indians and the English. The following extract marks the lively influence of christianity on the heart.

"One of them complained of other Indians, that revile them, and call them rogues, and such like names, for cutting off their locks, and for cutting their hair in a modest manner, as the New-English generally do; for since the word begun to work upon their hearts, they have discerned the vanity and pride which they placed in their hair; and have therefore of their own accord (none speaking to them that we know of) cut it modestly. They were therefore encouraged by some there present of chief place and account with us, not to fear the reproaches of wicked Indians, nor their witchcraft and powaws and poisonings; but were assured that if they did not dissemble, but would seek God unfeignedly, they would stand by them, and that God also would be with them."

"We have given (says the Missionary Register) these details of Mr. Eliot's first attempts

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among the natives somewhat at large, as they furnish an excellent example of wisdom and piety to other missionaries. His success was beyond his hopes. His heart was much set on bringing the Indians to live together in a civilized community; and it is worthy of remark how soon they themselves began to feel the advantage of doing so. The General Court of Massachusetts allotted to them at his request, a portion of land for the erection of a town; and while the court were deliberating on the choice of a convenient spot, the Indians, not aware of the intention of the English towards them, were consulting on the adoption of laws for their own improvement and civilization, the principal of which were intended to encourage industry and cleanliness, and to prevent immoralities and indecencies, before common among them. The reports made by Mr. Eliot and his friends of the effect of their labours, were very encouraging. Waaubon and his companions would utter such expressions as the following in prayer:

Amanaomen, Jehovah, tahassen metagh!
"Take away, Lord, my stony heart!"
Chechesom, Jehovah, kekowhogkan!
"Wash, Lord, my soul!"
"Lord, lead me, when I die, to heaven!"

"Many more petitions of this nature, and sometimes much enlarged, indicated an awakened state of mind.—It is no small matter," adds the narrator, "that such dry, barren, and long ac-

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cursed ground should yield such kind of increase in so short a time.*

* Mention is made of Indians at an earlier period than these noticed by Mr. Eliot, who apparently embraced Christianity. An Indian seeing a profane Englishman fall a tree on the Sabbath said to him, "Do you not know that this is the Lord's day *in* the Massachusetts, much matchet man, (i. e. much wicked man,) what, break you God's day?"

"The same Indian coming a little while after into an Englishman's house thereabouts, where a man and his wife were chiding and contending with angry words one against the other, when they intermitted their brawlings so far as to bid him sit down and tell him he was welcome, (possibly they might be in expectation of traffick, wherein they both were well agreed,) he answered he would not stay there, because God no dwell there, but rather Holbomack, i. e. with them the devil.

"A Pequod Indian named Waquash, is characterized by Hubbard 'as a proper man, and of good courage, and a captain among them in the wars they had with the English in 1637, yet was so smitten with the terrors of God upon the taking of their fort and killing so many hundreds of the Indians in an hour's time, he was from that moment so awakened in his conscience, to think that the Englishman's God was a great God, which did so pursue and follow him, that he could have no rest till he came to the knowledge of the Englishman's, God; and was so importunate that way, that he would occasion the English (amongst whom he came afterwards) to spend more than half the night in conversing with him. Afterwards coming to live with the English at Connecticut, he would often sadly smite on his breast and complain of his naughty heart, adding, '*Waquash no know God, Waquash no know Jesus Christ;*' but afterwards it pleased the Lord so to move on his heart, that he throughout reformed his

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"When the place was chosen for the erection of their first town, the Indians wished to affix an appropriate name. It was suggested to them that they should call it Noonanetum, 'Rejoicing,' as their friends sincerely rejoiced that now the Indians heard the word of God, and were disposed to seek the knowledge of him. This name greatly delighted them, and by it therefore their first place of assembling was distinguished."*

"Our principal guide (says the Register) in this part of the narrative, is a Tract, printed in London in 1648, entitled, 'The clear Sun-shine

life, confessing his dearest sins, lust and revenge, many testifying his unfeigned return from the same. Afterwards he went among the Indians like the woman of Samaria, proclaiming Christ and warning them to fly from the wrath to come, by breaking off their sins and wickedness.

"Some of the Indians were, like the children of the devil, as Paul speaks, so filled with rage, that they gave him poison, which he took without suspicion; when the Indians wished him to send for the powaws, who with them are their physicians and their priests, he only told them, "*if Jesus Christ say that Waquash shall live, then Waquash live; if Jesus Christ say Waquash shall die, then Waquash is willing to die, and will not lengthen out his life by any such means;*" and so he bequeathed his only child to the care of the English. He died, as was charitably hoped, a martyr for Christ, rejoicing in this hope, that the child should know more of Christ than its poor father did."

*Hubbard's Hist. New Eng. pp.* 651, 652.

* This was situated on the hill before mentioned, in the east part of Newton.

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of the gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New England.' Mr. Eliot advised the Indians to surround their town with ditches and stone walls upon their banks: promising to supply them with needful tools for that purpose. To encourage them in this unaccustomed labour, he offered them rewards; and found them so ready to listen to his counsel, that they called for tools faster than he could supply them. By these exertions, Noonanetum was soon enclosed; and the wigwams of the lowest class among them rivalled those of the Sachems, or chiefs in other places; they were here built, not of mats, but with the bark of trees; and were divided into several apartments, whereas they formerly had but one room for all purposes. But Mr. Eliot had not assembled his Indians together to expose them to the evils of an idle community. It was necessary to find occupation for their vagrant minds and their active hands. The women were taught to spin; and they soon found something to bring to market all the year round. In winter they sold brooms, staves, baskets and turkeys: in spring, cranberries, strawberries and fish; in summer, whortleberries and grapes; and, in hay time and harvest, several of them assisted the English in the field; they were neither so industrious, nor so capable of hard labour, as those who had been habituated to it from early life.

"While this servant of God with his zealous friends, were rejoicing in the success of their labours at Noonanetum, the Indians near

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Concord, some miles further in the interior, intimated a wish to be united in a regular community, and to receive the christian faith.—They had heard what was passing among their countrymen; and in consequence, the Sachem, with a few of his men, had attended the preaching at Noonanetum. He seemed to be deeply impressed with what he heard and witnessed, and expressed his desire to become more like the English, and to abandon those wild and sinful courses, wherein they had lived.

"When his people discovered their Sachem's mind, some of them began to oppose him, but he reasoned with them, and succeeded in bringing them to a better temper. At an assembly of Sachems and other principal Indians, held towards the end of November, they agreed to repress by heavy fines all intemperance, conjuring, falsehood, theft, profanation of the Lord's day, impurity, gambling and quarrelling; they determined to punish adultery and murder with death; they resolved to abandon their old practices of howling for the dead, and of adorning their hair and greasing their bodies; and to adopt the customs of the English; they expressed their desire and resolution to seek after God, to understand and escape the temptations of Satan, to improve their time, to live peaceably one with another, to labour after humility, to pay their debts, and to establish prayer in their wigwams.

"These regulations were adopted by the whole assembly, and a respectable Englishman



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appointed as their Recorder to see them put into execution. They entreated Mr. Eliot to visit and instruct them; and applied to the government for a grant of land whereon they might build themselves a town.

"An affecting scene was exhibited at Cambridge, in June, this year, 1647, at the annual meeting of the Synod. Mr. Eliot preached there an Indian Lecture, which was attended by a great confluence of Indians from all quarters. From Eph. ii. 1, the preacher opened to them their miserable condition without Christ, *dead in trespasses and sins;* and directed them to that Saviour, who alone could quicken them from their spiritual death. When the sermon was finished, there was a convenient space of time spent in hearing and answering such questions as the Indians proposed. We will give the narrator's description in his own words.

"That which I note is this; that their gracious attention to the word, the affections and mournings of some of them under it, their sober propounding of divers questions, their aptness to understand and believe what was applied to them, the readiness of divers poor naked children to answer openly the chief questions in the Catechism, which had been taught them, and such like appearances of a great change upon them, did marvellously affect all the wise and godly ministers, magistrates and people, and did raise their hearts up to great thankfulness to God; very many deeply and abundantly mourning for joy to see such a blessed day,

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and the Lord Jesus so much known and spoken of among such as never heard of him before."

Mr. Eliot's labours among the Indians began now to be widely extended. On occasion of a journey with some friends, towards the end of the year as far as Cape Cod, on some other business, he embraced the opportunity of preaching to the poor Indians in his way.

"He found, however, much difficulty in making himself understood, the dialect varying materially every forty or fifty miles, and these Indians being wholly unused to hear any thing on the subject of religion. By the aid, however, of interpreters, and by circumlocution and variation of expression, he contrived to become intelligible. He had indeed an admirable talent of adapting himself to his hearers; and excelled, as his friends testify, all other Englishmen, in the explanation of sacred truths to the Indians, as much as they excelled him in the utterance of common matters in the Indian tongue. In Mr. Eliot's customary instructions of the Indians, after fervent prayer for the divine blessing on his labours, he attended in their regular order,

1. To the catechising of the children; by which the adults themselves were greatly benefitted and enabled to teach their Indian children at home.

2. To the preaching of the word, in all plainness and brevity; to which many became very attentive.

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3. To admonition and censure, if any occasion thereof had arisen.

4. To the hearing and answering of their questions: which was a great means of instilling into them the accurate knowledge of divine truth.

The regular use of admonition and censure, as a means of instruction and conviction, deserves a particular notice. Its greatest efficacy should awaken others, whether among christian or heathen people, to the proper use of it. We will give Mr. Eliot's own account of his success therein.

"If there be any occasion, we go to admonition and censure; unto which they submit themselves reverently and obediently, and some of them penitently confessing their sins with much plainness, and without shiftings and excuses. I will instance in two or three particulars.

"A man named *Wampoowas*, being in a passion on some light occasion, beat his wife; which was a very great offence among them now (though in former times, it was very usual) and they had made a law against it and set a fine upon it. Hereupon he was publicly brought before the assembly, which was great that day, for our Governor and many other English were then present. The man wholly condemned himself, without any excuse; and when he was asked what provocation his wife gave him, he did not in the least blame her, but himself; and when the quality of the

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sin was opened, that it was cruelty to his own body, and against God's commandment; and that passion was a sin, and much aggravated by such effects, yet God was ready to pardon it in Christ, he turned his face to the wall and wept, though with modest endeavour to hide it; and such was the penitent and melting behaviour of the man, that it much affected all to see it in a Barbarian, and all did forgive him; only this remained, that they executed their law, notwithstanding his repentance; and required his fine, to which he willingly submitted.

"Another admonition was this; *Cutshamaquin* the Sachem, had a son of about fourteen or fifteen years of age, who had behaved himself disobediently and rebelliously against his father and mother; for which sin they did blame him, but he despised their admonition. Before I knew it, I observed, when I catechised him, that when he should say the fifth commandment, he did not freely say, 'Honor thy father,' but wholly left out 'mother;' and so he did the Lecture-day before; but when this sin of his was produced, he was called before the assembly, and he confessed what was said against him was true; but he fell to accuse his father of sundry evils, as that he would have killed him in his anger, and that he forced him to drink *saik*, and I know not what else; which behaviour we greatly disliked, shewed him the evil of it, and laboured much with him; but all in vain; his heart was hard and hope-



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less for that time. Using therefore due persuasions, we did sharply admonish him of his sin, and required him to answer further next Lecture-day, and so left him; and so stout was he, that when his father offered to pay 10s. for his drunkenness, according to their law, he would not accept it at his hand. When the next day was come and other exercises finished, I called him forth, and he willingly came; but still in the same mind as before. Then we turned to his father, and exhorted him to remove that stumbling block out of the son's way, by confessing his own sins, whereby he had given occasion of hardness of heart to his son; which thing was not sudden to him, for I had formerly in private prepared him thereunto, and he was very willing to hearken to that counsel, because his Conscience told him that he was blame-worthy; and accordingly he did; he confessed his main and principal evils of his own accord. Upon this advantage, I took occasion to put him upon confession of sundry other vices, of which I knew he had in former times been guilty, and all the Indians knew it likewise; and I put it after this manner; 'are you now sorry for your drunkenness, filthiness, false dealing, lying, &c, which sins you committed before you knew God?' unto all which cases he expressed himself sorrowful, and which example of the Sachem was profitable to all the Indians. When he had thus confessed his sins, we turned again to his son, requiring him to confess his sin and en-

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reat God to forgive him for Christ's sake, and acknowledge his offence against his father and mother, and beg them to forgive him; but he still refused. And now the other Indians spake unto him affectionately and soberly; divers of them one after another, and some several times.

"At last he did humble himself, confessed all, and entreated his father to forgive him and took him by the hand; at which his father burst forth into great weeping; he did the same also to his mother, who wept also, and so did divers others; and many English being present, fell a weeping on every side, and then we went to prayer, in all which time Cutshamaquin wept, in so much that when we had done, the board he stood upon was all dropped with tears."

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## CHAPTER IV.

### HIS LABOURS AND SUFFERINGS.

Mr. Eliot continued his pastoral charge at Roxbury; and laboured much with the Indians in his immediate vicinity, at Noonanetum and about Concord. His exertions were not however confined to a few places. He generally took a missionary journey once a fortnight; travelling into all parts of Massachusetts, and of the surrounding country, every where declaring the glad tidings of salvation.

Having thus engaged in the instruction of Indians, he pursued his object with unwearied zeal through difficulties almost incredible. On one occasion, which may be taken as a specimen of the dangerous journeys which he made through the dreary wilderness to his scattered Indians, he says, "*I was not dry night nor day, from the third day to the sixth; but so travelled; and, at night I pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continued; yet God helped. I considered that word,* 2 Tim. ii. 3; *Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.*"

But these *perils of waters* and *perils in the wilderness* were far less trying to him than *those perils by the heathen* he had to encounter.

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When travelling through the wild parts of the country, without any English friend, or companion, he has been often barbarously treated by the natives. The Powaws and Sachems were alike enemies of the truth; both Priests and Princes being fearful of losing their influence and their gain.

## CHAPTER V.

### OPPOSITION FROM POWAWS, OR PRIESTS.

The Powaws held the people in great subjection. They professed themselves Physicians for soul and body; they both administered medicine, and addressed their deities for a blessing. They howled and danced, and employed a multitude of charms, for the recovery of the sick; and it was the common belief of the poor natives, that by their familiar converse with the invisible world, they could heal or destroy, some particular cases excepted, wherein the Deity was inexorable. Even the new converts retained this persuasion; believing, however, that the God of the christians was a being of superior power to the God of the Powaws.

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Some of these men threatened with death Hiacoomes, a Christian convert under Mr. Mayhew, in the Island called Martha's vineyard. They reminded him that he knew their witchcrafts would destroy him; and declared that they would exercise them on him to the utmost, unless he returned to the religion of his fathers. In the midst of a great assembly of Indians, the power assumed by the Powaws became a subject of debate. After many stories had been told in proof of their power, an Indian called out, "Who is there that does not fear the Powaws?"—Another replied, "There is not a man on earth who is not afraid of the Powaws." The eyes of all present were instantly fixed on Hiacoomes, who rose from his seat, and undauntedly set their power at defiance, declaring his firm trust in God who controlled them all. The whole assembly waited in dread suspense, looking for signal vengeance to overtake him; but seeing that he remained unhurt, they changed their minds, and began to congratulate him on being delivered from the power of the Powaws. Hiacoomes availed himself of their favourable disposition; and exhorted them to repent and turn to God with such effect, that more than twenty renounced their superstitions and embraced the faith.

The Powaws were enraged at these proceedings, and threatened the praying Indians with death; but Hiacoomes challenged them to do their worst. "*Let all the Powaws*," said he, "*in the Island come together, I will venture*

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*myself in the midst of them. Let them use all their witchcrafts, with the help of God I will tread upon them all.*" Yet this fancied power of the priests was a great hindrance to the progress of christianity.

Though some of the converts had courage like Hiacoomes, to set it at defiance, others were afraid to appear openly against them. Mr. Eliot observed a remarkable difference in their looks, when the Powaws were present, and when they were out of the way.

## CHAPTER VI.

### OPPOSITION FROM THE SACHEMS OR CHIEFS.

The adversaries of this work were, at first, found chiefly among the Powaws and profane men. But a more determined opposition soon arose from another quarter: the Princes began to take alarm for their authority and their revenues.

Mr. Eliot's statement of this matter places his difficulties in a striking light, and marks his wisdom and firmness in encountering them. "The Sachems of the country are generally set up against us; and keep off their men from

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praying to God, as much as they can. They see that religion will make a great change among them, and cut them off from their former tyranny; for they used to hold their people in absolute servitude, inasmuch as whatever they had, and themselves too, were at their command.

"The language of the Sachem was '*all is mine!*' Now they see that religion teaches otherwise, and puts a bridle on such usurpations.

"His former manner was, if he wanted money, or desired any thing from any man, he would take occasion to rage and be in great anger; which when his men did perceive, they would give him all they had to pacify him; else his way was to suborn some villain to kill him who refused.

"This keeps them in great awe of their Sachems; and is one reason why none of them desire any wealth, because they get it not themselves. But now, if their Sachem so rage, and give sharp and cruel language, they will admonish him of his sin; and, as for tribute, some they are willing to pay, but not as formerly. These are great temptations to the Sachems, which require in them a good measure of wisdom and grace. Hence it is, I suppose, that (having requested the Court of Commissioners that a general plan might be formed for the instruction of all Indians in all parts, and having told the Indians that I had done so, and still in my prayers, praying for the Mono-

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hegens, Narragansets, &c.) the Monohegen Indians were much troubled lest the Court should take some course to teach them to pray to God.

"Unkus, their Sachem, accordingly went to Hartford, where the Court sat, and expressed his fears of such a thing, and manifested great unwillingness thereunto.

"This temptation hath much troubled Cutshamaquin, our Sachem. His spirit was raised to such a hight, that, at a meeting after Lecture, he openly contested with me against our proceeding to erect a town, and plainly told me that all the Sachems in the country were against it.

"When he did so carry himself, all the Indians were filled with fear; their countenances grew pale, and most of them slunk away. A few staid, and I was alone, not any Englishmen with me; but it pleased God to raise up my spirits; not to passion but to a bold resolution; so that I told *him it was God's work in which I was engaged, that he was with me, and that I feared not him nor all the Sachems in the country, and that I was resolved to go on, do what they might.*

"It pleased God that his spirit shrunk and fell before me; which when those Indians that tarried saw, they smiled as they durst out of his sight; and have been much strengthened ever since. I have since understood, that, in such conflicts, they account him that shrinks to be conquered, and the other to conquer; which, alas, I knew not, nor did I aim at such



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a matter, but the Lord carried me beyond my thought and habit.

"After this brunt was over, I took my leave to go home, and Cutshamaquin went a little way with me. He told me that the reason of his trouble was, because the Indians, who pray to God, do not pay him tribute, since they have so done, as formerly they did. I answered him, that, once before when I heard of his complaint that way, I preached on that text, *Render unto Cesar the things, that are Cesar's, and unto God the things that are God's.*

"He said it was true that I taught them well, but that they would not in that point do as I had taught them; and he assured me that on this account all the Sachems set themselves against praying to God."

Alarmed at this declaration, lest the praying Indians, by unjustly withholding what was due to their rulers, should dishonor christianity, Mr. Eliot investigated the matter, and found the complaint utterly groundless.

"But the bottom of this complaint (says Mr. Eliot) lieth here; formerly he had all, or what he would; now he hath but what they will, and admonitions also to rule better; and he is provoked by other Sachems, and by ill counsel, not to suffer this, and yet he doth not know how to help it. Hence arise his temptations in which I do very much pity him.

"Having this information how causeless his discontent was, I thought it a difficult thing to ease his spirit, and yet to clear and justify the

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people. On the next day of our meeting, I preached on Satan's temptation of Christ by the love of the world, and applied it wholly to his case. Afterwards we had a conference on the matter, and gave him the best counsel we could.

"A great change took place in him, and his spirit was very much lightened. This appeared both in his countenance and behaviour, and he hath carried all things fairly ever since.

"But the temptation still doth work strongly in the country; the Sachems opposing any who desire to submit themselves to the service of the Lord. Some who began to listen, are quite gone back; and some, who are inclined to attend, are kept away. Last Lecture-day one came in, and submitted himself to call upon God, and said that he had been kept back half a year by opposition, but now at last God had emboldened him to break through."

Innumerable were the affronts that Mr. Eliot met with in his missionary work. Sometimes the Sachems would thrust him out from among them, telling him he was impertinent to trouble himself with them, or their religion, and that if he came again it was at his peril; but his usual reply was; "*I am about the work of the great God; and my God is with me; so that I fear neither you nor all the Sachems in the country; I will go on, and do you touch me if you dare!*"

The stoutest of them have, on these occasions, shrunk and fallen before him!

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Some of these enemies brought on themselves swift destruction.

"It was particularly remarked (says Dr. Mather,) in Philip, the ringleader of the most calamitous war that ever they made upon us, our Eliot made a tender of the everlasting salvation to that king; but Philip entertained it with contempt and anger; and after the Indian mode of joining signs with words, he took hold of a button upon the coat of that reverend man, adding, that he cared for his gospel, just as much as he cared for that button.

"The world has heard what a terrible ruin soon came upon that woeful creature, and upon all his people. The renowned Samuel Lee is now Pastor of an English congregation, sounding the praises of Heaven upon that very spot of ground where Philip and his Indians were lately worshipping the devil."*

Such, indeed, was the hostility of the chiefs, that they not only treated Mr. Eliot in this rude manner, but banished from their society all those of their own people who embraced christianity; and when they could do it with safety even put them to death. Nothing but the formidable power of the English prevented them from massacreing all the new converts; the dread of which prevented some who were well inclined from disclosing their sentiments, and caused others to fly to the English for protection.

* Bristol, R. I.

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Some indeed had courage to profess the truth, in the face of all opposition. Hiacoomes, before mentioned, received, on one occasion, a cruel blow from a Sachem; and would have perhaps, met his death, if the English present had not interposed. His own account given in the Indian manner, of his feelings on the occasion, discovers a truly christian temper. "*I have two hands,*" *said he;* "*I have one hand for injuries and the other for God; while I did receive wrong with the one hand, the other laid the greater hold on God!*"

## CHAPTER VII.

### SOME ADVANTAGES FROM THIS OPPOSITION.

Mr. Eliot, who was attentive to the workings of divine Providence and grateful for his mercies, remarks,

"By this opposition the wicked are kept away from us, and from thrusting themselves into our Society. Besides, it has now become a trial to come into our company and call on God; for, beside their forsaking their I vaws (which was their first trial) and their c barbarous fashions and liberty to all sin,



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and some of their friends and kindred; this is now added, they incur the displeasure of their Sachems; all which put together, it cannot but appear that it is a work of God upon their hearts which doth carry them through all these snares.

"If, then, upon competent experience we shall find them to grow in knowledge and to love the ways of the Lord the better according as they come to understand them, and to yield obedience to them, and to submit to this great change so as to bridle lust by laws of chastity, and to mortify idleness by labour, what should hinder charity from hoping that there is grace in their hearts—a spark kindled by the word and spirit of God that shall never be quenched? and were these in a fixed habitation, who could gainsay their gathering together into a Church? Who can forbid that they should be baptised? I am persuaded that there be sundry such, among whom the pure and holy kingdom of Christ shall arise, and over whom Christ shall reign, ruling them in all things by his holy word."

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FIRST INDIAN CHURCH AT NATICK.

UNDISMAYED by the opposition of either Priests, or Princes, Mr. Eliot proceeded in his work of civilizing and evangelizing the Indian tribes. His efforts to accomplish these objects went hand in hand, and mutually aided each other. We have already seen his success in bringing some of them together at Noonanetum, and others in the vicinity of Concord. But, as christianity made its way among them, he wished to collect those who embraced it into a more regular community, and to associate them together in a Christian Church.

He met with much difficulty in the accomplishment of his plan. His own narrative will best display his Christian temper under many discouragements.

"The present work of the Lord that is to be done among them, (says Mr. Eliot in the summer of 1650,) is to gather them together from their scattered kind of life: first, into civil society, then to ecclesiastical, and both by the divine direction of the word of the Lord.

"This spring that is past, they were very

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importunate to begin that work, and to plant corn in the place intended; but I did dissuade; because I hoped for tools and means from England, whereby to prosecute the work this summer. But, when ships came, and no supplies, you may easily think what a damping it was; and truly my heart smote me, that I had looked too much to man and means, in stopping their earnest affections.

"I began without any such respect, and I thought God would have me to go on, and only to look to him for help whose work it is. And when I had thus looked up to him, I advised with others, and found that their hearts consented with me; so I recommended it to our Church, and we sought God in a day of fasting and prayer, and have ever since been acting herein according to our abilities."

At length under his encouragement and direction, a considerable body of Indian Converts, united together and built a town, in the year 1651, on the banks of Charles River, about eighteen miles S. W. from Boston. This town they named *Natick*. It consisted of three long streets; two on the Boston side of the river and one on the other. To each house was attached a piece of ground. Most of the houses were built after the Indian fashion. One large house was erected in the English style the lower apartment of which was employed as a school-room in the week, and as a place of worship on the Lord's Day.

A large canopy of mats was raised upon

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poles for Mr. Eliot and his company; and other sorts of canopies for the Indians to sit under, the men and women being placed apart. The upper room was a kind of wardrobe, where the Indians hung up their skins, and other articles of value. In a corner of this room an apartment was partitioned off for Mr. Eliot, with a bed and bedstead in it. There was likewise a large handsome fort, of a circular figure, palisadoed with trees; and a foot-bridge over the river, the foundation of which was secured with stone; with several little houses after the English fashion.

Here again we shall have recourse to his own narrative, as it furnishes a worthy example of his perseverance in conquering difficulties, and of those prudent and conciliatory methods by which he allured men of vagrant and indolent habits to overcome them.

"We must of necessity have a house to lodge, and meet in, and wherein to lay our provisions and clothes, which cannot be in wigwams. I set the Indians, therefore, to fell and square timber; and when it was ready, I went and many of them with me, and on their shoulders carried all the timber together. These things they cheerfully do; but this also I do, I pay their wages carefully for all such works as I set them about, which is a good encouragement to labour. I purpose, God willing, to call them together this autumn to break and prepare their own ground against the Spring, and for other necessary works,

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which are not a few in such an enterprise. There is a great river, which divideth between their planting grounds and dwelling place, through which, they easily wade in summer, yet in the Spring it is deep, and unfit for daily passing over, especially of women and children. I thought it necessary, therefore, that this autumn we should make a foot-bridge over, against such time in the Spring as they shall have daily use of it. I told them my purpose and my reason of it, and wished them to go with me, to do that work, which they cheerfully did: and with their own hands did build a bridge eighty feet long, and nine feet high in the midst, that it might stand above the floods. When we had done, I called them together and prayed, and gave thanks to God, and taught them out of a portion of scripture: and, at parting, I told them I was glad of their readiness to labor, when I advised them thereunto; and in as much as it had been hard and tedious labor in the water, if any of them desired wages for their work, I would give them; yet, seeing it was for their own use, if they should do all this labor in love, I should take it well, and, as I may have occasion, remember it. They answered me, they were far from desiring any wages when they do their own work; but, on the other hand were thankful to me that I had assembled them, and counselled them in a work so needful for them. Whereto I replied, I was glad to see them so ingenuous.

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"Our work in civilizing them goes on slowly for want of tools; for though I have bought a few for them, we can do but little.

"Had I a store of hoes this autumn, either to lend them, or to sell to them at moderate prices, we should prepare, by God's blessing, a good store of ground for corn against next year; and had I wherewith to buy corn to carry up to the place, and have it in readiness to supply them, that so they might tarry at their work, and not be taken off by the necessity of going to get food, it would be a great furtherance; and had we but the means of maintaining a discreet, diligent man to work with them and guide them in their work, that also would much promote our success.

"And many such things I could propose as very requisite unto this work; but I lay my hand upon my mouth. I will say no more. I have left it with the Lord. I see that he will have us to content ourselves with little, low, poor things, that all the power and praise may be given to his great name.

"He hath hitherto appeared, and he will appear, for his own eternal praise, in shining in his due season, on the day of our small things."

When the Indians had settled themselves at Natick, they applied to Mr. Eliot for a form of civil government. He referred them to the advice which Jethro gave to Moses: *moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness; and place such over them, to be rulers of*

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*thousands, and rulers of hundreds, and rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens.*

In compliance with this counsel, about one hundred of them held an assembly, and chose one ruler of the one hundred, two rulers of fifty, and ten rulers of ten. After the rulers of ten were chosen, they placed themselves in order, and every individual ranged himself under the one whom he chose.

When this was settled, they entered into the following covenant; "*We give ourselves and our children unto God to be his people. He shall rule us in all our affairs; not only in our religion and the affairs of the Church, but also in all our works and affairs in this world. God shall rule over us. The Lord is our Judge, the Lord is our Law-giver; the Lord is our King; he will save us. The wisdom which God has taught us in his book, that shall guide us and direct us in the way. O Jehovah, teach us wisdom to find out thy wisdom in thy scriptures.*

"*Let the grace of Christ help us, because Christ is the wisdom of God. Send thy Spirit into our hearts, and let it teach us. Lord, take us to be thy people, and let us take thee to be our God.*"

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## CHAPTER IX.

### A GREAT ASSEMBLY HELD AT NATICK.

The new converts continued several years under the character of Catechumens; and were visited, during their probation, by Mr. Eliot, or some other minister, every week, who preached on some article of the christian faith, and answered such questions as the Indians proposed to them. A day was at length appointed, which they called "Natootomakteackesuk," or "the day of asking questions;" when many ministers and their friends, assisted by the best interpreters, met at Natick, to judge of the fitness of the Indians to be admitted to Church Communion. This great assembly was held on the 13th of October, 1652, when about fifteen Indians made distinct and open confessions of their faith in Christ, and of the efficacy of the word upon their minds. In Mr. Eliot's reports of these confessions, published in the Tract entitled, "Tears of Repentance" he says, "that he had not knowingly, or willingly, made their confessions better than they made them themselves; but he is verily persuaded, on good grounds, that he has rather rendered them weaker than they delivered them; partly by missing some words of weight in some senten-



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ces, partly by abbreviating some passages, and partly by reason of the different "idioms of their language from ours."

My readers may form a judgment of these confessions, by one which we shall here extract.

## CHAPTER X.

### THE CONFESSION OF PONAMPAM, ON THE FAST-DAY, BEFORE THE GREAT ASSEMBLY.

"BEFORE I prayed to God, I committed all manner of sins; and when I heard in the Catechism that God made me, I did not believe it, because I knew I sprang from my father and mother; and therefore I despised the word, and therefore, again I did act all sins, and I did love them.

"Then God was merciful to me to let me hear that word, that *all shall pray from the rising to the setting Sun;* and then I considered whether I should pray, but I found not in my heart that all should pray; but when I considered of praying, and what would become of me if I did not pray, and what would become of me if I did pray. But I thought if I did pray, the Sachems would be angry; because they did not say, pray to God; and therefore I did

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not yet pray; but considering of that word, that *all shall pray* I was troubled, and I found in my heart, that I would pray to God; and yet I feared that others would laugh at me; and therefore I did not pray.

"Afterwards God was yet merciful unto me, and I heard that God made the world and the first man, and I thought it was true, and, therefore I would pray to God, because he hath made all; and yet when I did pray, I thought I did not pray aright, because I prayed for the sake of man, and I thought this was a great sin; but then I wondered at God's free mercy to me, for I saw God made me, and gives me all mercies, and then I was troubled, and saw that many were my sins, and that I did not yet believe.—Then I prayed; yet my heart sinned, for I prayed only with my mouth; and then I repented of my sins, and then a little I considered, and remembered God's love to us. But I was a sinner and many were my sins, and a little I repented of them, and yet again I sinned, and quickly was my heart full of sin: and then again was my heart angry with myself: and often I lost all this again and fell into sin. Then I heard that word, that God sent Moses into Egypt, and promised *I will be with thee.* That promise I considered; but I thought that it was in vain I did seek, and I was ashamed that I did so: and I prayed, 'O God, teach me *truly* to pray, not only before man, but before God; and pardon all my sins.'

"Again, I heard that word that Christ taught

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through every town and village, *Repent and believe and be saved;* and a little I believed this word, and I loved it; and then I saw all my sins and prayed for pardon.

"Again I heard that word, *He that casteth off God, him will God cast off;* and I found in my heart that I had done this, and I feared because of this my sin, lest God should cast me off, I having cast off God. Then I was troubled about hell, and what shall I do if I be damned.

"Then I heard that word, *If ye repent and believe, God pardons all sins;* then I thought, 'O that I had this!' I desired to repent and believe; and I begged of God, 'Oh give me repentance and faith! freely do it for me!' And I saw God was merciful to do it. But I did not attend to the Lord only sometimes, and I now confess that I am ashamed of my sins; my heart is broken and melted in me; I am angry at myself; I desire pardon in Christ; I betrust my soul with Christ that he may do it for me."*

* Richard Mather, grandfather of Cotton Mather, was present at this great assembly, and gives the following account of it. "There is so much of God's work among them, as that I cannot but count it a great evil, yea a great injury to God and his goodness, for any to make light of it. To see and hear Indians opening their mouths and lifting up their hands and eyes, in prayer to the living God, calling on him by his name Jehovah, in the mediation of Jesus Christ, and this for a good while together; to see and hear them exhorting one another from the word of God;

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These Indians it must be recollected, could, as yet, neither read nor write. Their confessions were made before a large assembly of English, and were often interrupted by the interpreters for the more full understanding of the meaning, which is a sufficient apology for any want of method or clearness of expression.

These confessions were considered by Mr. Eliot and his friends as indicating the efficacious influence of the word of God, by the teaching of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of those who made them. Various Indians at this time were baptized, but they were kept in the state of Catechumens until 1660, in which year the first Indian Church was formed at Natick.

to see and hear them confessing the name of Christ Jesus, and their own sinfulness; sure this is more than usual! and though they spoke in a language of which many of us understood but little, yet *we* that were present that day, *we* saw and heard them perform the duties mentioned with such grave and sober countenances, with such comely reverence in their gesture, and their whole carriage, and with such plenty of tears trickling down the cheeks of some of them, as did argue to us that they spake with the holy fear of God, and it much affected our hearts."—*Mather's Life of the renowned John Eliot.*



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## CHAPTER XI.

### MR. ELIOT'S LABORIOUS ATTENTION TO SCHOOLS.

In this department of service, as in all the rest, Eliot was an example to other missionaries. In the missionary exertions of the present day, the institution of Schools is considered one of the most efficient means of promoting the knowledge of Christianity. Eliot entertained the same opinion. But in order to prepare the way for instructing them, he had to arrange and systematize their language, and translate school-books into their tongue.

"If the Lord please to prosper our poor beginnings, (he writes in 1650,) my purpose is, to have School-exercises for all the men, by daily instructing them in reading and writing. My design is, that all the women may be taught to read. I know the matter will be difficult every way; for English people can only teach them to read English; and for their own language we have no book. My desire therefore is, to teach them to write, and read written hand; and thereby with pains-taking, they may have some of the scriptures in their own language. I have one already that can write, so that I can read his writing well; and he with some pains and teaching can read mine. I hope that the Lord will both enlarge his un-

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derstanding, and enable others also to do as he doth; and if I once had some of them who were able to spell aright, and read and write, it would further the work exceedingly, and in the most speedy manner."

"It hath pleased God this winter, (he writes at the beginning of 1651,) much to enlarge the ability of him whose help I use in translating the scriptures. Besides, it hath pleased God to stir up the hearts of many of them to learn to read and write, wherein they do much profit with little help, for they are very ingenious. And whereas I had thought that we must have an Englishman to be their school-master, I now hope that God will raise up some of themselves, and enable them unto that work. With my care to teach them well the sound of letters and spelling, I trust we shall have sundry of them who will write every man for himself so much of the Bible as God shall enable me to translate.

"I have no hope to see the Bible translated, much less printed, in my days. My chief care therefore is, to communicate as much of the scriptures as I can by writing: and my scope is, so to train up both men and youths, that they may be sent forth to other parts of the country to train up and instruct others.

"The most effectual and general way of spreading the gospel will be by themselves. As for my preaching, though those whose hearts God hath bowed to attend can pick up some knowledge by my broken expressions;

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yet I see that it is not so taking and effectual to strangers as their expressions be who naturally speak to them in their own tongue. To the end therefore, that they may be the better able to teach others, I train them up and exercise them therein; appointing two to this exercise each Sabbath; when they have finished, I proceed. And assuredly I find a good measure of ability in them, not only in prayer, wherein they exceed my expectation, but in the rehearsing such scriptures as I have expounded, and in expounding and applying them as they have heard me do."

Mr. Eliot's views of raising up Indian teachers and preachers were just. An Indian preacher was accustomed to the Indian mode of living; he could with more ease than an Englishman accommodate himself to their savage manner of livelihood. The sons of the wilderness in communicating their ideas one to another, dealt much in figurative language; a native preacher must possess many advantages over an English preacher from his knowledge of their manner of communicating their thoughts. Mr Eliot judged accurately in placing his principal dependence in raising up native preachers. In the missionary exertions of the present day, the friends of Zion hope ultimately to spread the gospel, principally, by the instrumentality of native preachers. Missionary stations are now formed in various parts of the heathen world. At some of these stations God has already raised up native preachers. Fifty

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native preachers have already been raised up by the Baptist mission at Serampore, who preach to their kinsmen according to the flesh the *unsearchable riches of Christ.* At various other stations God has raised up from among the heathen those that "*proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord and the day of vengeance of our God.*" God is preparing the way for the universal spread of his kingdom. Let every friend of Zion say in his heart and in his life, "*thy kingdom come.*" *Let his alms, his prayers, and his exertions all contribute to accomplish this desirable end.* Were Eliot now on earth, how would his holy soul rejoice in the present prospects of the Church! Especially would he rejoice to hear that the same gospel which he preached upon the banks of the river Charles, around Massachusetts Bay, and in the interior of the ancient state of Massachusetts, is now preached to the Indian tribes upon the tributary streams of the Ohio, upon the banks of the Mississippi, on the Missouri, and around the Lakes. It would afford him additional satisfaction to see the hand of the national government extended to grant relief to these poor ignorant sons of the forest. It would add to his enjoyment when he saw the anxiety of the Indians themselves, in so many instances, to be taught both the arts of civilized life, and the christian religion.*

* The Compiler thinks it unnecessary to inform the reader of the labors and success of Kingsbury, Hoyt,

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## CHAPTER XII.

### HIS SUCCESS IN THE INSTRUCTION OF THE INDIANS.

Mr. Eliot's care of the new converts was not confined to his own personal instruction; he took Monequessun, an ingenious Indian, into his house; and having taught him to read and write, made him a School-Master at Natick.

He translated into the Indian language Primers, Catechisms, the Practice of Piety, Baxter's Call to the unconverted, several of Mr. Shepard's pieces, and at length the Bible itself.

Some of the more promising Indians were admitted into the College, and had a liberal education bestowed upon them.* The native congregations were quickly furnished in this way, with ministers of their own. In the mean time Mr. Eliot visited them, as often as he could on the week days, and encouraged the most judicious among them to accustom them-

and others at the West among the Indians, for he presumes that every well informed christian knows these things already.

* In 1665, a brick edifice was erected at Cambridge, thirty feet long and twenty feet wide for an Indian College.

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selves to exhort their brethren on the Lord's day. A day of fasting and prayer, on account of excessive rains, being held November 15, 1658, various exhortations were addressed by them to their countrymen. Two of these exhortations here follow. They bear no feeble testimony to the success of their teacher.

### THE EXHORTATION OF WABAN, AN INDIAN.

Matthew ix. 12, 13. When Jesus heard that, he said, they that be whole, need not a physician, but they that are sick. But go ye and learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice; for I came not to call the righteous but sinners to repentance.

"I am a poor weak man, and know but little, and therefore I shall say but little.

"These words are a similitude; that, as some be sick and some well; and we see in experience, that when we be sick, we need a Physician, and go to him and make use of his physic; but they that be well need not do so, they need it not and care not for it; so it is with soul sickness. And we are all sick of that sickness in our souls, but we know it not. We have many at this time, sick in body; for which cause we do fast and pray this day, and cry to God, but more are sick in their souls, as idlenes, neglect of the Sabbath, passion, &c. Therefore, what should we do this day, but go to Christ, the Physician of souls? He healed

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men's bodies; but he can heal souls also. He is a great Physician; therefore, let all sinners go to him; therefore, this day know what need we have of Christ, and let us go to Christ to heal us of our sins, and he can heal us both in soul and body. Again, what is that lesson which Christ would have us to learn, *that he came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance!* What! doth not God love them that be righteous? Doth he not call them to him? Doth not God love righteousness? Is not God righteous? Answer, The righteous here are not meant those that are truly righteous, but those that are hypocrites; that seem righteous and are not; that think themselves righteous, but are not so indeed; such God calleth not, neither doth he care for them. But such as see their sins and are sick of sin, them Christ calleth to repentance and to believe in Christ; therefore, let us see our need of Christ to heal all our diseases of soul and body."*

* Waban, it will be recollected, was the first Indian that embraced the gospel at Noonanetum, and at his wigwam the first interview with the Indians was held. He removed to Natick with his brethren, and was one of the rulers of fifty when the Indians first organized their civil government. There are anecdotes respecting this worthy Indian still preserved among the people in Natick. "Mr. Eliot gave this testimony of *Waban*, that he had approved himself to be a good christian in Church order; and in civil order, a zealous, faithful and steadfast ruler to his death." At his death he expressed an animating joy in the hope of heaven,

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## THE EXHORTATION OF NISHOKOU.

Gen. viii. 20, 21. And Noah built an altar to Jehovah; and he took of every clean beast and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt-offering on the altar. And the Lord smelt a sweet savor; and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground, &c.

A little shall I say according to that little I know.

In that Noah sacrificed, he shewed himself thankful; in that Noah worshipped, he shewed himself godly; in that he offered clean beasts, he shewed that God is a holy God, and that all that come to God must be pure and clean. I know, that we must by repentance purge ourselves, which is the work we are to do this day. Noah sacrificed and so worshipped. This was the manner of old time. But what sacrifices have we now to offer? I shall answer by that in Psalm iv. 5. *Offer to God the sacrifice of righteousness, and put your trust in the Lord.* These are the true spiritual sa-

where he should unite with the souls of departed believers. He charged his children and friends not to mourn at his departure, and urged them all to confess, to repent of their sins, and believe in Jesus Christ, in whom he trusted for the resurrection of his body. His last words, immediately before he expired, were, "*I give my soul to thee, O my Redeemer, Jesus Christ. Pardon all my sins, and deliver me from hell. Help me against death and then I am willing to die, and when I die, O help me and relieve me.*"—*History of Newton.*



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crifices which God requires at our hands, the sacrifices of righteousness; i. e. we must look to our hearts and ways, that they may be righteous, and then we shall be acceptable to God when we worship him; but if we be unrighteous, unholy, ungodly, we shall not be accepted, our sacrifices will be stark nought. Again: we are *to put our trust in the Lord.* Who else is there for us to trust in? We must believe in the word of God. If we doubt of God, or doubt of his word, our sacrifices are little worth; but if we trust steadfastly in God, our sacrifices will be good.

Once more; what sacrifices must we offer? my answer is, we must offer such as Abraham offered; and what a sacrifice that was, we are told, Gen. xxii. 12; *Now I know that thou fearest me, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thy only son from me.* It seems he had but one dearly beloved son, and offered that son to God, and so God said, *I know thou fearest me.* Behold a sacrifice in deed and truth! Such an one we must offer; only God requires us not to offer our sons, but *our sins, our dearest sins.* God calls us this day to part with all our sins, though never so beloved; and we must not withhold any of them from him; if we will not part with *all*, the sacrifice is not right. Let us part with such sins as we love best, and it will be a good sacrifice.

God smelt a sweet savor in Noah's sacrifice, and so will God receive our sacrifices, when we worship him aright.

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But how did God manifest his acceptance of Noah's offering? It was by promising to drown the world no more: but to give us fruitful seasons. God has chastised us of late, as if he would utterly drown us, and he has drowned and spoiled, and ruined a great deal of our hay, and threatens to kill our cattle. It is for this that we fast and pray this day. Let us, then, offer a clean and pure sacrifice, as Noah did; so God will smell a savor of rest, and he will withhold the rain and bless us with such fruitful seasons as we are desiring of him."

## CHAPTER XIII.

### HIS TRANSLATIONS.

We have seen Eliot's anxious wish to translate the scriptures into the tongue of his Indians, and the great pains to which he submitted that he might accomplish his desire. Herein God blessed him beyond his hopes, as he lived to publish, in 1661, the New Testament in the Indian tongue. It was dedicated to Charles II. and was followed, in about three years by the Old Testament. This first edition consisted of two thousand copies, and was much sooner exhausted than could be expected. A second edition of the whole Bible followed in 1685, in the correction of which Eliot received great assistance from Mr. John Cotton, of Plymouth.

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"Behold, ye Americans" (exclaims Dr. Mather) "the greatest honor that ever you were partakers of! The Bible was printed here at our Cambridge; and it is the only Bible that ever was printed in all America, from the very foundation of the world. The whole translation he writ with *but one pen:* which pen, had it not been lost, would certainly have deserved a richer case than was bestowed upon that pen which Holland writ his translation of Plutarch with. The Bible being justly made the leader of all the rest, a little Indian library quickly followed; for, besides Primers and Grammars, and some other such composures, we had the 'Practice of Piety' in the Indian tongue; and the Reverend Richard Baxter's "Call to the unconverted."

"He also translated some of Mr. Shepard's composures; and such Catechisms likewise, as there was occasion for. It cannot but be hoped that *some fish will be made alive, since the waters of the Sanctuary thus come unto them.*"

## CHAPTER XIV.

### THE FELLOW LABORERS OF ELIOT, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR SUCCESS.

The reader may form a judgment of the progress of the gospel, among the Indians, by

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the following extract of a letter written by Dr. Increase Mather, Rector of the College of Cambridge, in New-England, to Dr. John Leusden, Hebrew Professor in the University of Utrecht. It is dated Boston, July 12, 1687.

After stating the entrance of Mr. Eliot on the great work of converting the Indians, above forty years before, and his administration of the Lord's Supper, first to the Indian Church at Natick, he proceeds, "The Pastor of that Church now is an Indian; his name is Daniel.* Besides this Church at Natick among our inhabitants of the Massachusetts Colony, there are four Indian assemblies, where the name of the true God and Jesus Christ is solemnly called upon.

"These assemblies have some American Preachers. Mr. Eliot formerly preached unto them once every fortnight; but now he is weakened with labors and old age, being in the eighty fourth year of his age, and preacheth not to the Indians oftener than once in two months.

"There is another Church consisting only of converted Indians, about fifty miles from hence, in an Indian town called Mashippaug; the first Pastor of that Church was an Englishman: who being skilful in the American language preached the gospel to them in their

* This was undoubtedly Daniel Takewambait whose tomb-stone is still standing near the place where the Indian meeting-house formerly stood.—He died in 1716.



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own tongue. This English Pastor is dead; and, instead of him, that Church has an Indian Preacher.

"There are besides that, five assemblies of Indians professing the name of Christ, not far distant from Mashippaug, which have Indian Preachers. John Cotton, Pastor of the Church at Plymouth, (son of my venerable father-in-law, John Cotton formerly the famous teacher of the Church at Boston) hath made very great progress in learning the Indian tongue, and is very skilful in it; he preaches in their own language, to the aforementioned five congregations, every week.

"Moreover, of the inhabitants of Saconet, in Plymouth Colony, there is a great congregation of those who for distinction's sake are called praying Indians, because they pray to God in Christ.

"Not far from a promontory called Cape Cod, there are six assemblies of heathens, who are to be reckoned as Catechumens, amongst whom there are six Indian Preachers. Samuel Treat, Pastor of a Church at Eastham, preacheth to those congregations in their own language. There are likewise among the Islanders of Nantucket a Church, with a Pastor who was lately a heathen, and several meetings of Catechumens, who are instructed by the converted Indians.

"There is also another island, about seven leagues long, called Martha's Vineyard, where are two American Churches planted, which

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are more famous than the rest; over one of which there presides an ancient Indian as Pastor, called Hiacoomes. John Hiacoomes, son of said Indian Pastor, also preacheth the gospel to his countrymen. In another Church in that place, John Tockinosh, a converted Indian, teaches. In these Churches, ruling Elders of the Indians are joined to the Pastors. The Pastors were chosen by the people; and when they had fasted and prayed, Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton laid their hands on them, so that they were solemnly ordained.

"In short, there are six Churches of baptized Indians in New-England, and eighteen assemblies of Catechumens, professing the name of Christ. Of the Indians, there are four and twenty, who are the Preachers of the word of God; and, besides these, there are four English ministers, who preach the Gospel in the Indian tongue."

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## CHAPTER XV.

### OF THE INTEREST WHICH ELIOT TOOK IN THE SUCCESS OF HIS FELLOW LABORERS.

Mr. Eliot was anxious to excite his brethren to take their share in the great work which occupied his own soul. Speaking in 1648, of some of Cutshamaquin's subjects in Martha's Vineyard, he says, "I have entreated Mr. Mayhew (the young scholar, son of old Mr. Mayhew) who preacheth to the English, to teach them; and he doth take pains in their language, and teacheth them not without success, blessed be God! And truly I think all the ministers who live near them would do well to do the like. I have earnestly solicited many so to do; and I hope God will, in his time, bow their hearts thereunto. Nor was he satisfied with rousing his brethren to assist him in the work; he laid himself out to procure for them such requisites for their meet discharge of their labor.

"Mr. Mayhew, (says he, when writing to a friend in authority) who putteth his hand unto this plough at Martha's Vineyard, being young and a beginner hath extreme want of books. He needeth Commentaries and common places for the body of divinity, that so he may be well grounded and principled. Send him over such books as may be necessary for a young

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scholar. I will name none; he needs them all. I beseech you put some weight upon it, for I desire that he may be furnished in that kind; and other supplies will be needful for him."

Nor did he look with envy at the success with which God favored these fellow laborers.

"The blessing of God, (he says) doth hopefully and successfully appear in the labors of my brother Mayhew; insomuch I hope his Indians also will be after a while, ripe for this work of civilization, if once they see a successful pattern of it. The cloud increaseth, and God seemeth to be coming in among them. They are very desirous to have their children taught, and it is a pity that this care of theirs should not be furthered by all means. I have entreated a woman living near where they dwell, to do that office for their children, and I pay her for it."

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## CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE NUMBER, NAMES AND SITUATION OF THE INDIAN PRAYING TOWNS WITHIN THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS, WITH THE CHURCHES GATHERED IN SOME OF THEM, THE QUANTITIES OF LAND BELONGING TO THEM, &C.

THE first town of praying Indians in Massachusetts is Natick. The name signifieth a place of hills.*

* Our authority for this was Deacon Ephraim, a Natick Indian lately deceased. The Indian name for hills in the Massachusetts Psalter is Wadokwash. In Roger Williams' Key into the language of America, we find the word Nittauke, which signifies my land.

The following chapter is taken from Gookin's Historical Account of Indians, written in 1674.† "Major General Gookin, of Cambridge, the author of this account of praying towns, was the superintendant of all the Indians that had subjected themselves to the provincial government. He was accustomed to accompany Mr. Eliot in his missionary tours. While Mr. Eliot preached the gospel to the Indians, General Gookin administered civil affairs among them. In 1675, when Philip's war broke out, the English inhabitants generally were jealous of the praying Indians, and would have destroyed them, had not General Gookin and Mr. Eliot stepped forth in their defence. The Christian Indians were for a while kept on one of the Islands in Boston harbour through fear of their becoming traitors

† *See Collections of Mass. Hist. Society, Vol. I.*

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It lieth upon Charles river, eighteen miles south-west from Boston, and ten miles north-west from Dedham. It hath twenty nine families, which computing five persons to a family, amount to one hundred and forty five persons. The town contains about six thousand acres. The soil is good and well watered, and produceth plenty of grain and fruit. The land was granted to the Indians at the motion of Mr. Eliot, by the General Court of Massachusetts: and in the year 1651, a number of them combined together and formed a town, which is the place of the greatest name among Indians and where their principal courts are held.

(The form of government which they adopted, the manner of its organization, the way in which the town was laid out and built, have been before described, so that we shall omit this part of Gookin's account of Natick, and relate only those particulars that have not been noticed.)

In this town was the first Church of Indians embodied, in the year 1660. Unto this Church some pious Indians of other places, both men and women, are since joined. The number of

and going over to the enemy. The issue proved that these fears were entirely groundless. Not a single praying Indian went over to the enemy. This fact affords abundant encouragement to civilize and christianize the savages of our western forests. This is the most effectual way to preserve our frontier settlements from savage butchery. General Gookin died in 1687, an old man whose days were filled with usefulness."

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men and women in full communion with this Church were in 1670, between forty and fifty.

We are to consider, that all those we call praying Indians are not all visible Church members, or baptized persons; which ordinance of baptism is not to be administered unto any that are out of the visible Church until they profess their faith in Christ and obedience to him, but the infants of such as are members of the visible Church, are to be baptized. Here I shall take the liberty, though it be a digression, to relate a story of remark concerning a child at Natick, a youth of about eleven years of age, who was of a sober and grave carriage, and an attentive hearer of the word considering his age and capacity, but he had a weak body and was consumptive. This child hearing Mr. Eliot preach upon a time at Natick when the ordinance of baptism was to be administered unto some children, whose parents had made profession of their faith and were joined to the Church: upon which occasion Mr. Eliot said, that baptism was Christ's mark, which he ordered to be set upon his lambs, and that it was a manifest token of Christ's love to the offspring of his people to set this mark upon them. This child taking special notice of this passage, did often solicit his father and mother, that one or both of them would endeavour to join to the Church, that he might be marked for one of Christ's Lambs before he died. The parents, who were well inclined, especially the mother, and being also very affec-

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tionate to their child, as the Indians generally are, did seriously ponder the child's reiterated intreaties; and not long after, first the mother and then the father of the child, joined to the Church. Soon after the lad was baptized: in which he did greatly rejoice and triumph, that he was now marked for one of Christ's Lambs; now said he to his father and mother, I am willing to die; which shortly after came to pass; and I doubt not, but as the child had Christ's name set upon him in baptism and by faith, so his immortal soul is now in glory, rejoicing in communion with Christ.

There are many Indians that live among those that have subjected themselves to the gospel, that are catechised; who attend public worship, read the scriptures, pray in their families morning and evening, who have not yet attached themselves to the visible Church.

The manner practiced by these Indians in the worship of God is thus. Upon the Lord's days, fast days, and lecture days, the people assemble together at the sound of a drum, (for bells they yet have not) twice a day, in the morning and afternoon, on Lord's days, but only once upon lecture days, when one of their teachers begins with a solemn and affectionate prayer.

In these acts of worship, for I have often been present with them, they demean themselves visibly with reverence, attention, modesty and solemnity; the men-kind sitting by themselves, and the women-kind by themselves,



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according to their age, quality and degree in comely manner. And for my own part, I have no doubt, but am fully satisfied, according to the judgment of charity, that divers of them do fear God and are true believers; but yet I will not deny, but there may be some of them hypocrites, that profess religion, and yet are not sound hearted. But things that are secret belong to God; and things that are revealed, unto us and our children.

Their teachers are generally chosen from among themselves, except some few English teachers of the most pious and able men among them.

Mr. Eliot hath of late years fallen into a practice among the Indians, the better to prepare and furnish them with abilities to explicate and apply the scriptures, by setting up a lecture among them in Logick and Theology, once every fortnight all the summer, at Natick: whereat he is present and ready, and reads and explains to them the principles of those arts. And God hath been pleased graciously so to bless these means, that several of them, especially young men of acute parts, have gained much knowledge and are able to speak methodically and profitably unto any plain text of scripture, yea, as well as you can imagine such little means of learning can advantage them unto. From this Church and town of Natick hath issued forth, as from a Seminary of virtue and piety, divers teachers that are employed in several new praying towns.

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In this town they have residing some of their principal rulers, the chief whereof is named Waban,* who is now above seventy years of age. He is a person of great prudence and piety. I do not know any Indian that excels him. Other rulers there are living there, as Nattous and Piam, Boohan and others. These are good men and prudent, but inferior to the first. The teachers of this town are Anthony and John Speen, who are grave and pious men. They have two constables belonging to this place chosen yearly; and there is a Marshal-General belonging to all the praying Indian towns, called Captain Josiah, or Pennahanit. He doth attend the chief courts kept here, but he dwells at another place, Nashobah.†

I have been the longer in speaking of this place, because it is the chiefest town and the eldest Church; and what is said of this doth agree in divers things to all the rest.‡

The next town is Pakemitt or Punkapoag.§ The signification of the name is taken from a spring, that ariseth out of red earth. This town is situated south of Boston about fourteen miles. There is a great mountain called the Blue Hill lieth north-east from it two miles;

* Waban's seat was about half a mile south of the place where the meeting house in Natick now stands.

† Littleton.

‡ Natick was incorporated into an English District in the year 1761, and into a town in 1781.

§ Within the limits of Stoughton.

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and the town of Dedham about three miles north-west from it. This is a small town and hath not above twelve families in it; and so about sixty souls. This is the second praying town. The Indians that settled here, removed from Neponset Mill. The quantity of land belonging to this village, is about six thousand acres; and some of it is fertile, but not generally so good as in other towns. Here they worship God and keep the Sabbath, in the same manner as is done at Natick, before declared. They have a ruler, a constable, and a Schoolmaster. Their ruler's name is Ahawton; an old and faithful friend to the English. Their teacher is William Ahawton, his son; an ingenious person and pious man, and of good parts. Here was a very able teacher that died about three years since. His name was William Awinian. He was a very knowing person, and of great ability and of genteel deportment, and spoke very good English. His death was a very great rebuke to this place. This town hath within this ten years, lost by death several honest and able men; and some have turned apostates, and removed from them: which dispensations of God have greatly damped the flourishing condition of this place. Here it was that Mr. John Eliot jun. before mentioned, preached a lecture once a fortnight, for sundry years until his decease. In this village, besides their planting and keeping cattle and swine and fishing in good ponds and upon Neponset river which lieth near them; they are

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also advantaged by a large Cedar swamp; wherein such as are laborious and diligent, do get many a pound, by cutting and preparing cedar shingles and clapboards, which sell well at Boston and other English towns adjacent.

Hassanamessit,* is the third town of praying Indians. This name signifieth a place of small stones. This place lieth about thirty eight miles from Boston, west-southerly; and about two miles east of Nipmuck river;† and near unto the old road-way to Connecticut. It hath not above twelve families; and so, according to our computation, about sixty souls; but is capable to receive some hundreds, as generally the other villages are, if it shall please God to multiply them. The dimensions of this town are about four miles square; and so about eight thousand acres of land. This village is not inferior unto any of the Indian plantations for rich land and plenty of meadow, being well tempered and watered. It produceth plenty of corn, grain, and fruit: for there are several good orchards in this place. It is an apt place for keeping of cattle and swine; in which respect this people are the best stored of any Indian town of their size. Their ruler is named Anaweakin; a sober and discreet man. Their teacher's name is Tackuppa-willin, his brother; a pious and discreet man, and apt to teach. Their aged father, whose name I remember not, is a grave and sober christian, and deacon

* Grafton.

† Blackstone river.



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of the Church. They have a brother that lives in the town called James, that was bred among the English and employed as a press-man in printing the Indian Bible; who can read well and as I take it write also. The father, mother, brothers, and their wives, are all reputed pious persons, and the principal studs of the town. Here they have a meeting-house for the worship of God after the English fashion of building, and two or three other houses after the same mode; but they fancy not greatly to live in them. Their way of living is by husbandry, and keeping cattle and swine; wherein they do as well, or rather better, than any other Indians, but yet are very far short of the English both in diligence and providence.

In this town was the second *Indian Church* gathered, about three years since, in summer 1671. The Pastor of this Church is Tackuppa-willin; the ruling elder Piambow; the deacon, father to the Pastor. There are in full communion in this Church, and living in the town, about sixteen men and women; and about thirty baptized persons; but there are several others, members of this Church, that live in other places. This is a hopeful plantation. The Lord gave his blessing to it. The way of their worship and civil order is here as in other Indian towns before mentioned.

Okommakamesist, alias Marlborough, is situated about 12 miles north-north-east from Hassanamessit, about thirty miles from Boston westerly. This village contains about ten families,

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and consequently about fifty souls. The quantity of land appertaining to it, is six thousand acres. It is much of it good land, and yieldeth plenty of corn, being well husbanded. It is sufficiently stored with meadow, and is well wooded and watered. It hath several good orchards upon it, planted by the Indians; and is in itself a very good plantation. This town doth join so near to the English of Marlborough, that it was spoken of David in type, and our Lord Jesus Christ the anti-type, *under his shadow ye shall rejoice;* but the Indians here do not much rejoice under the Englishmen's shadow; who do so overtop them in the number of their people, stocks of cattle, &c. that the Indians do not greatly flourish, or delight in their station at present. Their ruler here was Onomog, who is lately deceased, about two months since; which is a great blow to the place. He was a pious and discreet man, and the very soul, as it were, of that place. Their teacher's name is Solomon.* Here they observe the same decorum for religion and civil order, as is done in other towns. They have a constable, and other officers as the rest have. The Lord sanctify the present affliction they are under by reason of their bereavements; and raise up others and give them grace to promote religion and good order among them.

Wamesit† is the fifth *praying town*, and this

* See Hutchinson.

† Tewksbury.

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place is situated upon Merrimack river, being a neck of land, where Concord river falleth into Merrimack river. It is about twenty miles from Boston, N.N.W. and within five miles of Billerica, and as much from Chelmsford; so that it hath Concord river upon the W. N. W. and Merrimack, upon the N. N. E. It hath about fifteen families; and consequently seventy five souls. The quantity of land belonging to it, is about twenty five hundred acres. The land is fertile, and yieldeth plenty of corn. It is excellently accommodated with a fishing place; and there is taken a variety of fish in their seasons, as salmon, shad, lamprey-eels, sturgeon, bass, and divers others. There is a great confluence of Indians, that usually resort to this place in the fishing seasons. Of these strange Indians, divers are vicious and wicked men and women, which Satan makes use of to obstruct the prosperity of religion here. The ruler of this people is called Numphow. He is one of the blood of their chief Sachems. Their teacher is called Samuel; son to the ruler, a young man of good parts and can speak, read and write English, competently. He is one of those that was bred up at school, at the charge of the Corporation for the Indians. These Indians, if they were diligent and industrious, to which they have been frequently excited, might get much by their fish, especially fresh salmon, which are of esteem and a good price at Boston in the season; and the Indians being stored with horses of a low price, might

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furnish the market fully, being but a short distance from it. And divers other sorts of fish they might salt or pickle, as sturgeon, and bass; which would be much to their profit. But notwithstanding divers arguments used to persuade them, and some orders made to encourage them; yet their idleness and improvidence doth hitherto prevail.

At this place, once a year, at the beginning of May, the English magistrate keeps his court, accompanied with Mr. Eliot, the minister; who at this time takes his opportunity to preach, not only to the inhabitants, but to as many of the strange Indians, as can be persuaded to hear him; of which sort, usually in times of peace, there are considerable numbers at that season. And this place being an ancient and capital seat of Indians, they come to fish; and this good man takes this opportunity to spread the net of the gospel, to fish for their souls. Here it may not be impertinent to give you the following relation.

May fifth, 1674, according to our usual custom, Mr. Eliot and myself took our journey to Wamesit or Pawtucket: and arriving there that evening, Mr. Eliot preached to as many of them as could be got together, out of Mat. xxii. 1—14, the parable of the marriage of the king's son.

We met at the wigwam of one called Wannalancet, about two miles from the town, near Pawtucket falls, and bordering upon the Merrimack river. This person, Wannalancet, is

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the eldest son of old Pasaconaway, the chiefest Sachem of Pawtucket. He is a sober and grave person, and of years, between fifty and sixty. He hath been always loving and friendly to the English. Many endeavours have been used several years to gain this Sachem to embrace the christian religion; but he hath stood off from time to time, and not yielded up himself personally, though for four years past, he hath been willing to hear the word of God preached, and to keep the Sabbath. A great reason that hath kept him off, I conceive, hath been the indisposition and aversion of sundry of his chief men and relations to pray to God; which he foresaw would desert him, in case he turned christian. But at this time, May 6, 1674, it pleased God so to influence and overcome his heart, that it being proposed to him to give his answer concerning praying to God, after some deliberation and serious pause, he stood up and made a speech to this effect.

Sirs, you have been pleased for four years last past, in your abundant love to apply yourselves particularly to me and my people, to exhort, press, and persuade us to pray to God. I am very thankful to you for your pains. I must acknowledge, said he, I have all my days, used to pass in an old canoe, (alluding to his frequent custom to pass in a canoe upon the river) and now you exhort me to exchange and leave my old canoe, and embark in a new canoe, to which I have hitherto been unwilling; but now I yield up myself to your advice, and

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enter into a new canoe, and do engage to pray to God hereafter.

This his professed subjection was well pleasing to all that were present, of which there were some English persons of quality; as Mr. Richard Daniel, a gentleman that lived in Billerica, about six miles off; and Lieutenant Henchman, a neighbour at Chelmsford; besides brother Eliot and myself, with sundry others, English and Indians. Mr. Daniel before named, desired brother Eliot to tell this Sachem from him, that it may be whilst he went in his old canoe, he passed in a quiet stream; but the end thereof was death and destruction to soul and body; but now he went in a new canoe, perhaps he would meet with storms and trials; but yet he should be encouraged to persevere, for the end of his voyage would be everlasting rest. Moreover, he and his people were exhorted by brother Eliot and myself, to go on and sanctify the Sabbath, to hear the word and use the means that God had appointed, and encourage their hearts in the Lord their God. Since that time I hear the Sachem doth persevere, and is a constant and diligent hearer of God's word, and sanctifieth the Sabbath, though he doth travel to Wamesit meeting every Sabbath, which is above two miles; and though sundry of his people have deserted him, since he subjected to the gospel, yet he continues and persists.

Nashobah* is the sixth praying Indian town,

* Littleton.

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This village is situated in a manner in the centre between Chelmsford, Lancaster, Groton and Concord. It lieth twenty five miles W. N. W. from Boston. The inhabitants are about ten families, and consequently about fifty souls. The dimensions of this village is about four miles square. The land is fertile, and well stored with meadows and woods. It hath good ponds for fish adjoining to it. The people live here as in other Indian villages, upon planting corn, fishing, hunting, and sometimes labouring with the English. Their ruler of late years, was John Ahatawance, a pious man. Since his decease, Pennakenet, is the chief. Their teacher is named John Thomas, a sober and pious man. His father was murdered by the Maquas in a secret manner, as he was fishing for eels at his wear some years since, during the late war. He was a pious and useful person; and that place sustained a great loss in him. In this village as well as in other Indian plantations, they have orchards of apples, whereof they make cider; which some of them have not the wisdom and grace to use for their comfort, but are prone to abuse unto drunkenness. And although the laws be strict to suppress this sin; and some of their own rulers are very careful and zealous in the execution of them; yet such is the madness and folly of man naturally, that he doth eagerly pursue after that which tendeth to his own destruction.

I have often seriously considered what course to take, to restrain this beastly sin of drunken-

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ness among them; but hitherto cannot reach it. For if it were possible, as it is not, to prevent the English selling them strong drink; yet they having a native liberty to plant orchards, and sow grain, as barley and the like, of which they may and do make strong drink that doth inebriate them; so that nothing can overcome and conquer this exorbitancy, but the Sovereign grace of God in Christ, which is the only antidote to prevent and mortify the poison of sin.

Magunkaquog* is the seventh town where praying Indians inhabit. The signification of the place's name is a place of great trees. It is situated partly within the bounds of Natick and partly upon the lands granted to the country. It lieth west southerly from Boston about twenty four miles, near the mid way between Natick and Hassanamessit. The number of their families is about eleven, and about fifty five souls. There are men and women, eight members of the Church at Natick, and about fifteen baptised persons. The quantity of the land belonging to it is about three thousand acres. The Indians plant upon a great hill which is very fertile. These people worship God and keep the Sabbath, and observe civil order, as do the other towns. They have a Constable and other officers. Their ruler's name is Pamphaman; a sober and active man and pious. Their teacher's name is Job; a

* Hopkinton.



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person well accepted for piety and abilities among them. This town was the last settling of the old towns. They have plenty of corn, and keep some cattle horses and swine, for which the place is well accommodated.

Having now spoken briefly of the seven old towns of praying Indians, I shall endeavour more briefly to give an account of seven towns more of praying Indians, within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts; which, for distinction's sake, we call the new praying towns in the Nipmuck country. The Indians of some of these towns began to hearken unto the gospel about three years since, or thereabouts. In July 1673, Mr. Eliot and myself made a journey to visit some of them, and to encourage and exhort them to proceed in the ways of God.

This year in the 14th of September last, 1674, we both took another journey. Our design was to travel further among them, and to confirm their souls in the christian religion, and to settle teachers in every town, and to establish civil government among them, as in other praying towns. We took with us five or six godly persons, whom we intended to present unto them for ministers.

The first of these new praying towns is Manchage,* which lieth west of Nipmuck river, about eight miles; and is from Hassanamessit west by south, ten miles; and is from Boston about fifty miles, on the same rhomb.

* Oxford.

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It is seated in a fertile country for good land. To it belongeth about twelve families and about sixty souls; but people were generally from home, though we spoke with some of them afterwards. For this place we appointed Waabesktamin, a hopeful young man, for their minister, whom the people, with whom we spake afterwards, accepted.

There is no land yet granted by the General Court to this place, nor to any other of the new praying towns. But the Court intendeth shortly, upon the application and professed subjection of these Indians unto the yoke of Christ, to do for them as they have for other praying Indians.

About five miles distant from hence is a second town called Chabanakongkomun.* It hath its denomination from a very great pond, about five or six miles long, that borders upon the south-ward of it. This village is fifty five miles southwest from Boston. There are about nine families and forty five souls. The people are of sober deportment, and better instructed in the worship of God, than any of the new praying towns. Their teacher's name is Joseph, who is one of the Church of Hassanamessit; a sober, pious and ingenious person, and speaks English well, and is well read in the scriptures.

He was the first that settled this town, and got the people to him about two years since.

* Dudley,

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It is a new plantation and is well accommodated with uplands and meadows. At this place dwells an Indian called Black James, who about a year since was constituted Constable of all the praying towns. He is a person that hath approved himself diligent and courageous, faithful and zealous to suppress sin; and so he was confirmed in his office another year. Mr. Eliot preached unto this people, and we prayed and sung psalms with them, and we exhorted them to stand fast in the faith. A part of one night we spent in discoursing with them, and resolving a variety of questions propounded by them, touching matters of religion and civil order. The teacher Joseph and the Constable James went with us unto the next town which is called Maanexit,* is a third village, and lieth about seven miles westerly from Chabanakongkomun. It is situated in a very fertile country and near unto a fresh river, upon the west of it, called Mohegan river.† It is distant from Boston about sixty miles west and by south. The inhabitants are about twenty families, as we compute one hundred souls. Mr. Eliot preached unto this people out of the 24th Psalm, seven to the end; Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in, &c.

* The northwest part of Woodstock.

† Now called Quinaboag river, which falls into Shetucket river two miles above Norwich landing.

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After Sermon was ended, we presented unto them John Moqua, a pious and sober person there present, for their minister, which they thankfully accepted. Then their teacher named and set and rehearsed, a suitable psalm, which being sung, and a conclusion with prayer, they were exhorted, both the teacher to be diligent and faithful, and to take care of the flock, whereof the Holy Ghost had made him overseer, and the people also to give obedience and subjection to him in the Lord.

Quantisset* is a fourth village, which lieth six miles to the south of Maanexit, and within four miles of the south line of Massachusetts Colony. This place hath about twenty families and one hundred souls. We went not to it, being straitened for time; but we spake with some of the principal people at Wabquissit. For whom we appointed a sober and pious young man of Natick, called Daniel,† to be minister, whom they accepted in the Lord.

Wabquissit‡ is a fifth town, which lieth about nine or ten miles from Maanexit, upon the west side of Mohegan river; and is distant from Boston west and by south, about seventy two

* The southeast part of Woodstock.

† This was probably Daniel Takewambit whose tomb-stone is still standing in Natick near by where the Indian meeting-house formerly stood.

‡ The southwest part of Woodstock. Woodstock is in Connecticut; but it was formerly considered as within the limits of Massachusetts.



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miles. It lieth about four miles within the Massachusetts south line. It hath about thirty families and one hundred and fifty souls. It is situated in a very rich soil, manifested by the goodly crop of Indian corn then newly gathered, not less than forty bushels upon an acre. We came thither late in the evening upon the fifteenth of September, and took up our quarters at the Sagamore's wigwam, who was not at home; but his squaw courteously admitted us and provided liberally in their way, for the Indians that accompanied us. This Sagamore inclines to religion, and keeps the meeting on Sabbath-days at his house, which is spacious, about sixty feet in length, and twenty in width.

The teacher of this place is named Sampson; an active and ingenious person. He speaks good English and reads well. He is brother unto Joseph, before named, teacher at Chabanakongkomun; being both the only sons of one Petavit, alias Robin, one of the late rulers of Hassanamessit, who died not above three days before our coming thither, after about a year's sickness of the stone. He was in his time a courageous and stout man for God and religion; and was one that stood in the gap against the pride and insolence of wicked Indians, although Sagamores, who sometimes would ruffle against religion and good order in his presence. He would venture him to oppose them, to good success. I remember sundry years since, a Sagamore, that lived up in the inland country, came to Hassanamessit and

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brought with him a rundlet of strong liquors; and lodging in his house, Petavit in the morning sent for the Constable, and ordered him, and according to law seized the rundlet of liquors. At which act the Sagamore drew his long knife, and stood with his foot at the rundlet, daring any to seize it. But Petavit thereupon rose up and drew his knife and set his foot also at the rundlet, and commanded the Constable to do his office. Some other actions of the like kind he did. In truth God has magnified his grace to his two sons; being both hopeful, pious, and active men; especially the youngest before named, Sampson, teacher at Wabquisset, who was a few years since a dissolute person, and I have been forced to be severe in punishing him for his misdemeanors formerly. But now he is, through grace, changed and become sober and pious; and he is now very thankful to me for the discipline formerly exercised towards him.

And besides his flagitious life heretofore, he lived very uncomfortable with his wife: but now they live very well together. I confess this story is a digression. But because it tendeth to magnify grace and that to a prodigal, and to declare how God remembers his covenant unto such, as are faithful and zealous for him in their time and generation, I have mentioned it.

We being at Wabquissit, at the Sagamore's wigwam, divers of the principal people that were at home came to us, with whom we spent

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the principal part of the night in prayer, singing psalms, and exhortations. There was a person among them who sitting mute a great space, at last spake to this effect; that he was agent for Unkas the Sachem of Mohegan, who challenged right to and dominion over, this people of Wabquissit. And, said he, Unkas is not well pleased, that the English should pass over Mohegan river, to call his Indians to pray to God.

Unto which speech Mr. Eliot first answered, that it was his work to call upon all men every where, as he had opportunity, especially the Indians, to repent and embrace the gospel; but he did not meddle with civil right, or jurisdiction.

When he had done speaking, then I declared to him and desired him to inform Unkas what I said, that Wabquissit was within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, and that the government of that people did belong to them; and that they do look upon themselves concerned to promote the good of all people within the limits, especially if they embrace christianity; yet it was not hereby intended to abridge the Indian Sachems of their just and ancient right over the Indians in respect of paying tribute or any other dues. But the main design of the English was to bring them to the good knowledge of God in Christ Jesus; and to suppress among them those sins of drunkenness, idolatry, powawing or witchcraft, whoredom, murder, and like sins. As for the

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English, they had taken no tribute from them, nor taxed them with any thing of that kind.

Upon the 16th of September, being at Wabquissit as soon as the people were come together, Mr. Eliot first prayed, and then preached to them in their own language, out of Matt. vi. 33. "First seek the kingdom of heaven, and the righteousness thereof, and all other things shall be added unto you. Their teacher Sampson first reading and setting the 119th Psalm, first part, which was sung. The exercise was concluded with prayer.

Then I began a Court among the Indians, and first I approved of their teacher Sampson, and their Constable black James; giving each of them a charge to be diligent and faithful in their places, also I exhorted the people to yield obedience to the gospel of Christ, and to those set in order there. Then published a Warrant, or order I had prepared, empowering the Constable to suppress drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, especially powawing and idolatry. After warning given, to apprehend all delinquents, and bring them before authority to answer for their misdoings; the smaller faults to bring before Wattasacompanum, ruler of the Nipmuck country; for idolatry and powawing to bring them before me. So we took leave of the Wabquissit country and about eleven o'clock returned back to Maanexit and Chabanakongkomun, where we lodged this night.

We took leave of the Christian Indians at

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Chabanakongkomun and took our journey 17th of the seventh month, by Manchage to Pakachoog; which lieth from Manchage northwest, about 12 miles. We arrived there about noon. This village lieth about three miles south of the new roadway that leadeth from Boston to Connecticut; about west southerly from Marlborough, and from Boston about forty four miles. It consists of twenty families and hath one hundred souls. This town is seated upon a fertile hill,* and is denominated from a delicate spring water that is there.

We repaired to the Sagamore's house, called John, alias Horowanninit, who kindly entertained us.

There is another Sagamore belonging to this place, of kindred to the former, whose name is Solomon, alias Wooanaskochu. This man was also present, who courteously entertained us. As soon as the people could be got together, Mr. Eliot preached unto them; and they attended reverently. Their teacher, named James Speen, being present, read and set the tune of a psalm, that was sung affectionately. Then was the whole duty concluded with prayer.—After a short respite, a court was kept among them. My chief assistant was Wattasacompanum, ruler of the Nipmuck Indians, a grave and pious man, of the chief Sachem's blood of the Nipmuck country. He

* This hill it is supposed is situated partly in Worcester and partly in Ward, and is called Boggachoag. Boggachoag brook runs on the west side of it.

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resides at Hassanamessit; but by former appointment calleth here, together with some others. The principal matter done at this court, was, first to appoint John and Solomon to be rulers of this people and co-ordinate in power, clothed with authority of the English government, which they accepted; also to allow and approve James Speen for their minister. This man is of good parts and pious. He hath preached to this people almost two years; but he yet resides at Hassanamessit, about seven miles distant. Also they chose and the court confirmed, a new constable, a grave and sober Indian, called Mattoonus.

Then I gave both the rulers, teacher, constable and people, their respective charges; to be diligent and faithful to God, zealous against sin, and careful in sanctifying the Sabbath. Moreover at this court, it was agreed to send a grave and pious Indian there present, called Jethro, belonging to Natick, to be a teacher unto a people living about ten miles more to the southward, at a place called Weshakim,* alias Nashaway, near unto an English town called Lancaster. These have been a great people in former times; but of late years, have been consumed by the Maquas' wars and other ways; and are not above fifteen

* Weshakim ponds are in the southeast part of Sterling, which was at that time included in Lancaster. The compiler of this work was born and educated near these ponds, and on his father's farm were numerous vestiges of the aboriginal inhabitants.

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or sixteen families. I gave this Jethro a letter or order of the purport following.

*For the Sagamore Shasharim and Indian people that live with him at Weshakim,*

Grace, mercy and peace be multiplied.

Whereas the Hon. General Court of Massachusetts, hath appointed and authorised me to rule and govern the Indians within this jurisdiction; and in a special manner to endeavour the promoting of religion and civility among them. I have thought it expedient with the concurrence of Mr. John Eliot, principal teacher unto the Indians, and approbation of several of the rulers and teachers belonging to the Churches of Natick and Hassanamessit to send unto you Jethro, a man approved in Natick, to be a minister and teacher among you, and to instruct you in the good knowledge of the Lord God, and in the gospel of his Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. We pray you therefore to receive him in the Lord and yield ready obedience to the word of the Lord dispensed by him. And in a special manner, we exhort you, to keep the Sabbath carefully, and abstain from drunkenness, whoredom and powawing and all other evils. In ready compliance herewith, you will promote your own temporal and eternal happiness. So committing you to the Lord and the word of his grace; praying for a blessing

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pon the means, for God's glory and your good; I remain your loving and affectionate friend for promoting your everlasting welfare.

DANIEL GOOKIN.

*Dated at Pakachoog the 17th September*, 1674.

Letters of the same import are intended to be given to the teachers of the other new praying towns.

After this business was over, it being night before we had finished the court, there was an Indian present which came into the wigwam about an hour before. He belonged to Weshakim or Nashaway. This Indian desired liberty to speak; which being admitted, he made a speech with affection and gravity to this effect; to declare that he belonged to Weshakim near Nashaway; and that he was desirously willing, as well as some others of his people to pray to God; but that there were sundry of that people very wicked and much addicted to drunkenness, and thereby many disorders were committed among them; and therefore he earnestly importuned me, that I would put forth my power to help in the case, to suppress the sin of drunkenness. Then I asked him if he would take upon him the office of a Constable, and I would give him power to apprehend drunkards, and take away their strong drink from them, and bring the delinquents before me to receive punishment.



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His answer was, that he would first speak with his friends, and if they chose him and strengthened his hands in the work, then he would come to me for a *black staff* and *power*. I asked him, whether he were willing to have Jethro go and preach to them; to which he readily complied and seemed joyful thereat. After this discourse, we concluded with singing a psalm and prayer; and retired to rest. And the next morning early, being September 18th, we took leave of these Indians and passed to Marlborough; and from thence we returned to our own habitations.

There is yet another praying town in the Nipmuck country called Waeuntug.* This place lieth west of Nipmuck river, against an English town called Mendon, which is on the east side of the river. It lieth about ten miles from Hassanamessit, to the south of this place.

There are two teachers; the one named James, brother to the pastor of Hassanamessit; the other called Sasamet. They both live at Hassanamessit and are of the Church there, and both of them preach to that people. I never was at the place; and therefore cannot give a particular account thereof at present. There are two other Indian towns, viz. Weshakim, Quaboug,† which are coming on to receive the gospel: and reckoning these there are nine in the Nipmuck country. But they

* Uxbridge.

† Southeast part of Brookfield.

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being not fully settled, I omit them. Thus I have endeavoured to describe the Indian praying villages within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts: which are

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Towns 14 / Churches 2 | Souls yielding obedience to the gospel about | 1100* |

* That is, in

| | |
|---|---|
| Natick† | 145 |
| Punkapaog | 60 |
| Hassanamessit | 60 |
| Okommakamessit | 50 |
| Wamesit | 75 |
| Nashobah | 50 |
| Magunkaquog | 55 |
| Manchage | 60 |
| Chabanakongkomun | 45 |
| Maanexit | 100 |
| Quantessit | 100 |
| Wabquissit | 150 |
| Packachoag | 100 |
| Waeuntug supposed, | 50 |
| | 1100 |

† Tradition says, that one hundred and twenty years ago the Indians in Natick were comparatively numerous. Some of the oldest inhabitants of Natick have informed the Editor that their ancestors have seen three hundred Indians at an Indian training, paraded on Pegan plain, where Natick meeting-house now stands.

Hubbard says that in 1677, two hundred of the Natick warriors were sent with a party of English to fight the Indians at the eastward.

The war with Philip greatly interrupted the progress of christianity among the Indians. Many praying towns in Massachusetts were broken up. Mr. Eliot

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The harvest is ripe for many more, if God please to thrust forth labourers. The pious

says, that in 1684, they were reduced to four. They seem however to have increased soon after; for in the year 1687, Dr. Increase Mather mentioned five Churches. They have gradually diminished since that period. In the year 1753, there were in Natick, the principal town of Indians in this colony, twenty five families, besides several individuals. Some of the males were soldiers in the war against the French, which took place soon after.

Returning from the lakes, they brought home a mortal disease, of which twenty three died in the year 1759. In the year 1763, according to census then taken, there were thirty seven Indians only, in Natick; but in this return probably the wandering Indians were not included.

The Indians in Natick were is 1792, reduced to one family of five persons and two single women.

There are besides, belonging to this place, ten adults, some of whom have children. They lead a wandering life, seldom residing long in one place.

There is now (1822) only one resident Indian left at Natick. The Indians of Grafton have not wasted so fast. In 1746, they were eight or ten families. And there are still about thirty persons who retain a portion of their lands, and receive their annual quit rent from the white inhabitants. These Indians with a few at Stoughton, are, we believe, all the remains of the numerous tribes who formerly inhabited the old colony of Massachusetts.

It may not be uninteresting to the reader to subjoin an account of the two missionaries, Mr. Peabody and Mr. Badger, that laboured at Natick after the death of Mr. Eliot.

When Mr. Peabody came to Natick in 1721, (which was thirty one years after Mr. Eliot's death, and sixty after the first congregation of the Indian Church,) he

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reader whose heart desires the honor of God, and the salvation of these poor heathen, may

could find no traces of the former Church. He thus notes in the beginning of his Church records, (which records are in possession of the Editor,) "It must be observed, that after my most diligent enquiry and search, I can find no records of any thing referring to the former Church in Natick; nor who were the members of it, or baptised, till my coming to town."

Mr. Peabody laboured among the Indians from 1721, to 29, before he received ordination. On the 21st of October 1729, a committee of the Hon. Commissioners, viz. the Hon. Adam Winthrop and Edward Hutchinson, Esqrs., and another from the Reverend Corporation of Harvard College, viz. Rev. Messrs. Flynt, Appleton, and Wigglesworth came to Natick in order to consider what might be proper to be done to have a Church gathered and a minister ordained.

It was then thought proper, as the affairs then were, a Church should be gathered, partly of Indians and partly of English. A Church was gathered December 3, 1729, consisting of three Indians and five English male members. Mr. Peabody was ordained at Cambridge the 17th of December of the same year.

Mr. Peabody did not labour wholly in vain among the natives. In a letter to a Convention of ministers who were assembled at Boston, from the New-England provinces, on the 7th of July, 1743, to express their gratitude to God for the revival of religion in this part of the Lord's vineyard, he observes, "among my little people, (I would mention it to the glory of the rich grace, and of the blessed spirit of God,) there have been very apparent strivings and operations of the Holy Ghost, among Indians and English, young and old, male and female. There have been added to our Church, of such as I hope shall be saved, about fifty persons of different nations, since the beginning of last



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here see some small beginnings that God hath wrought, and what foundations, through grace, are laid for the future good, and increasing their numbers; for every one of the towns are able to entertain considerable numbers of Indians, and it pleaseth God now and then to call in some wild Indians to settle among them.

March was two years, whose lives witness in general to the sincerity of their profession."

Mr. Peabody's whole ministry was twenty nine years, seven years before his ordination, and twenty two after. He died February 2, 1752. During his ministry there were admitted to the Church one hundred and thirty English and thirty five Indians. A writer in the Panoplist for July, 1811, gives this summary of his character. "He embraced the religious principles of our puritanic fathers, and has left us abundant testimony in his publications and manuscripts, that he had not so learned Christ as to make the precepts of the gospel bend to suit the vices of men. He was bold and zealous in the cause of truth; but his zeal was not that of an enthusiast. It was an ardent desire to promote the glory of God, and the good of his fellow men. It was a fixed, uniform, benevolent affection, which was not satisfied with moderate attempts to do good, in so important a cause as that of the Redeemer."

Mr. Badger was ordained March 27, 1753. He closed his public services July, 1799. He was in the ministry forty six years, died August 23, 1803, aged seventy eight. After Mr. Badger's death the Indians had become so few in number that no provision was made for their particular instruction.

Rev. Mr. Freeman Sears was ordained as minister of the town of Natick January 1, 1806. He died June 30, 1811.

The Compiler of this work was ordained February 16, 1814.

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## CHAPTER XVII.

### Letters from Rev. John Eliot of Roxbury, to Hon. Robert Boyle.*

Roxbury, Sept. 30, 1670.

*Right Honorable,*

Your constant care of, and steadfast affection unto this Indian work (which the Lord hath in great undeserved mercy to me, put under my hand, a weak and unworthy instrument herein) do greatly oblige my heart to honor you, and pray that it may be remembered by the Lord in that great day, when he will say (come ye blessed) unto all the sincere benefactors unto his people. You have also added no small encouragement unto me, in that worthy gift, which your honor is pleased to bestow upon me, viz. Poole's Synopsis, or Critica Sacra upon the whole Bible, which though it has not

* Mr. Eliot began the work of converting the Indians unpatronized. After he had proceeded some time in the work, the friends of religion in England, having heard of his work, formed a Society to aid in propagating the gospel in New-England. An act of incorporation was obtained under the Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell. Hon. Robert Boyle was a generous Benefactor to this Society, and for many years its President. A correspondence was maintained between this Philosopher and Mr. Eliot.

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yet come, is under the care and faithful hand of my worthy and true friend Mr. Ashurst; for which desirable gift I return unto your Honor my humble thanks.

Touching the present state of this work with the indians, I have written to our worshipful Commissioners, who will send it unto your Honor, governor of the Honorable Corporation; and therefore I shall keep silence of that matter. And whereas your honor will see, that I have begun and undertaken a kind of academical reading unto them in their own language, thereby to teach the teachers and rulers, and all that are desirous of learning: I find by experience, that it will be very necessary to have some entertainment of food for all the principal men at least, which do come; for many are to come a great way, and had we but food to entertain them when they come there, it would be some encouragement. And I have some thoughts, if God give life and means, to read medicine and call for such roots (for they altogether use the root and not the herb) as they have experience of; especially had I wherewith to recompense any, that bring in a desirable experiment.

There hath been a rare work of God this summer in a great pond at Watertown, where all the fish died, and were not willing to die in the waters, but as many as could, thrust themselves on shore, and there died; not less than twenty cart loads, by estimation lying dead, all at once, round about the pond. An eel was

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found alive on the sandy border of the pond and being cast into the water, she wriggled out again, as fast as she could, and died on the shore. An inhabitant of the town, living by the pond, his cattle use daily to drink there, but then for three days together, they refused there to drink, but after three days they drank of the pond as they were wont to do. When the fish began to come ashore, before they died, many were taken and eaten, both by English and Indians without any hurt and the fish were good.*

Now the disease of the stone groweth frequent among the English, and beginneth among Indians; which stirreth me to search, and I clearly find, that a crude stomach provides the matter and cold in and about the bladder and ureters is the efficient cause of the stone, especially in those, whom I have conversed with, as may be demonstrated. But I am over bold to presume to meddle so far unto your honor. I shall therefore cease to give you any further trouble at present. So committing you to the Lord and the word of his grace I remain

your honor's to serve you
in the service of the Lord Jesus,
JOHN ELIOT.

* Sometime in June 1676, it was observed that at a great pond in Watertown, (says Hubbard) all the fish there (many cart loads as was thought,) swam to the shore and died. It was considered to be the effect of some mineral vapour, that at that time had made an irruption into the water.

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## LETTER II.

Roxbury, Oct. 23, 1677.

*Right Honorable nursing fathers,*

The poor praying Indians do thankfully acknowledge, that (under God our heavenly Father, and under Jesus Christ our Redeemer, who redeemeth us out of all our troubles) you have been the means and instruments in his hand, to save and deliver us. God moved your hearts to own us, in that black day, when all were against us, and we were almost ready to be swallowed up in destruction; which dark time we ought not to forget, nor your owning kindness unto us in that dark day.

And since that your charity hath greatly revived and refreshed us, many of our aged, decrepit, fatherless, and widows, still wear the garments, not yet worn out, which you charity did, the last winter, clothe us withal. And although we yet know not what our honored Commissioners will do for us, whose favour we doubt not of; yet understanding, that some doubt is raised about your countenancing and encouraging our rulers, who are of us, and live among us, and without whose presence and assistance the Lord's work of soul instruction and edification will soon faint, sink and come to nothing; our humble petition is, first to God, that he who hath hitherunto, will still move your hearts for our good and welfare; and next, our petition is unto yourselves, that we may have the countenance of your favour

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to countenance, and our own rulers among us, without whose countenance, our teachers will be of little power, especially among our youth and rising generations, who do not yet favour the things of the gospel of Jesus Christ, and among strangers, who have not yet tasted how good the Lord is, though for their protection and safety they have crowded in upon us.

Noble hearted Sir, your gift I do still religiously keep, for some special and eminent service of the Lord, in the Lord's time. In our first war with the Indians, God pleased to show us the vanity of our military skill, in managing our arms, after the European mode. Now we are glad to learn the skulking way of war. And what God's end is, in teaching us such a way of discipline, I know not.

By our late eastern war it hath pleased God to show us our weakness by sea, as formerly by land. The Indians took many of our fishing vessels and men that belonged to them, and forced them to sail whither they desired; many of the men delivered themselves and their vessels; many Indians were slain, some English. The history of these actions I have not; others do attend that service, to whom I leave it. The governor of New-York sent strength this summer, and took possession of a northern port, where they fixed and fortified themselves; since whose coming thither, the Indians have not stirred much. Little action hath passed, but I hear not of any peace made.

The Yorkers have taken in hand a charge-

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able design; what profit will come of it, I know not; time will discover that; whether their intention be to promote religion, or only trading I know not. It pleased the Lord very lately to permit a small handful (not twenty) of the late scattered nod to make a rare direption upon Hatfield and Deerfield, at Connecticut; where about twelve persons were killed, more than twenty carried away captive and lost; seven dwellings burned and sundry barns full of corn, and since they have appeared at Hadley, burned the mill. They had parley with them, treated about restoring the captives, agreed of a time and place of meeting; but the Indians failed to appear. The last actions have very much discouraged our people from repairing the destroyed towns, which some were beginning to do.

We had a Sachem of the greatest blood in the country, submitted to pray to God, a little before the wars; his name is Wanalaunset; in the time of the wars he fled by reason of the wicked actings of some English youth who causelessly and basely killed and wounded some of them. He was persuaded to come in again. But the English, having ploughed and sown with rye all their lands, they had but little corn to subsist by.

A party of the French Indians (of whom some were of the kindred of this Sachem's wife) very lately fell upon this people, being but few and unarmed, and partly by persuasion, partly by force, carried them all away.

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One with his wife, child and kinswoman, who were of our praying Indians, made their escape, came into the English, and discovered what was done. These things keep some in a continual disgust and jealousy of all the Indians. I shall give your honor no further trouble at present. We intreat your prayers, and commit you to the Lord, and rest

your honor's to serve you
in the Lord Jesus,
JOHN ELIOT.

## LETTER III.

Roxbury, Nov. 4, 1680.

*Right Honorable, charitable, indefatigable, nursing father.*

When good works of pure charity are sown three hundred fold thick, and that by a living hand, Lord, what a reaping time or harvest will there be! Sir, you are eminently mindful of that gospel charge, 1 Tim. vi. 17, 18, 19, *Charge them, that be rich in this world that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy. That they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate; laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come;* a foundation not of grace unto justification, by way of



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merit, but a foundation of degrees of glorification when God will in free mercy distribute his gifts of glory, according to our improvements of our talents in the exercise of grace; he that gained ten talents, shall have ten cities.

I know it will please your charitable heart to hear how it fareth with those that are your alumni. We are in great affliction by the Manquaoy Indians; more than sixty at several times have been killed or captivated; a narrative whereof Major Gookin presented to lord Culpepper, who was affected with it. Also he presented a copy thereof to Sir Edmund Andros, who was likewise affected with it, though it is said he might have prevented it. We hope he will move in it, and our Mr. Pincheon is gone up to join with Sir Edmund to endeavour a peace. Major Gookin intendeth to present your honor with a copy of the same narrative. The eastern Indians do offer to renew peace with us, and to submit themselves to be taught to pray unto God. A chief Sachem was here about it, a man of grave and a discreet countenance. Our praying Indians both on the Islands, and on the main, are considered together numerous; thousands of souls, of whom some are true believers, some learners, and some are still infants, and all of them beg, cry, entreat for Bibles, having already enjoyed that blessing, but now are in great want. Your honor's liberality in English Bibles is a great favour which we all with thank-

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fulness receive; but the Bible in their own tongue must help them understand it. We are at the 19th chapter of the Acts; and when we have impressed the New Testament, our commissioners approve of my preparing and impressing also the old.

Your honor's bounty of thirty pounds towards our sending the gospel to those remote Indians, that speak the language, whereinto the Bible is translated, I do religiously keep it to be improved to the same end, to which your honor gave it, of which service I am still in hope, having more intelligence that there is such a people.

But by the immaturity of some occurrences and the intentions of the ships speedily sailing, I cannot give your honor any further diversion at this time; entreating your prayers, I commit you to God, and rest

your Honor's to serve you
in any service of Jesus Christ,
JOHN ELIOT.

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## LETTER IV.

Roxbury, March 15, 1682—3.

*Right Honorable, charitable, nursing father,*

This winter the worshipful Mr. Stoughton (Commissioner) delivered to Major Gookin (a pillar in our Indian work) and to me, the sum of six pounds, as the product of your Honor's gift of charity; which we did diligently distribute to christian Indians; two aged blind women, others lame in their limbs, others decript with age; all which do bless you, the giver, and do praise God the fountain; and we, your dispensers of so great charity, do thankfully accept of so good an office, as to be the disposers of so charitable gifts unto the poor servants of Jesus Christ. The Lord still goeth on among them, and though many of the younger sort, since the wars (where their souls received a wound) have declined, and too much miscarried, yet now (through the grace of Christ) they are on the repenting and recovering hand; of which your Honor may hear more, when the work is prosecuted, and brought unto a good effect.

The great work that I travel about, is, the printing of the Old Testament, that they may have the whole Bible. They have had the whole in the first impression, and some of the old they still have, and know the worth and use of it; and therefore they are importunately desirous of the whole.

I desire to see it done before I die, and I

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am so deep in years, that I cannot expect to live long; besides, we have but one man (viz. the Indian printer) that is able to compose the sheets, and correct the press with understanding. For such reasons, so soon as I received the sum of near forty pounds, for the Bible work, presently set the work on foot; and one tenth part or near, is done; we are in Leviticus. I have added some part of my Salary to keep up the work; and many more things I might add, as reasons of my urgency in this matter.

Touching those remote Indians to the northwest, whose language agreeth with ours, so that they and we can speak to each other's understanding, we have not, as yet, so full intelligence of them, as to make a report thereof. But I do both pray and wait for some information that way. And for the furtherance thereof, I do carefully reserve your Honor's gift of thirty pounds to be improved in that service, when the Lord shall please to open a door thereunto. The Mauquaoy Indians have not stirred to fall upon us this last year; but we are not yet fully settled in peace, because they declare the eastern Indians to be their enemies; and the way unto them is through us; and our Wamesit Indians,* who are our most northerly plantation, are in danger to be their thorough fair. And this putteth us into many fears; but our hope and help is in God, our eyes are unto him, this world is a state and

* Wamesit, Tewksbury.



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place wherein God's people must expect nothing steadfast, all things are mutable and afflicting. But I shall cease to give your Honor any further trouble at present; therefore commending you to the Lord, and the word of his grace, I rest

your Honor's to serve you
in Christ Jesus,
JOHN ELIOT.

## LETTER V.

Boston, June 21, 1683.

*Right Honorable nursing father,*

Your hungry alumni do still cry unto your Honor for the milk of the word in the whole book of God, and for the bread of life which they have fed upon in the whole bible, and are very thankful for what they have, and importunately desirous to enjoy the whole book of God. It is the greatest charity in the world to provide for their souls. Should your Honor please but to change the object of your bountiful charity from their bodies to their souls, here is enough already sent over to accomplish the work; they only stay for that word from your Honor's *fiat*. My age makes me importunate. I shall depart joyfully, may I but leave the Bible among them; for it is

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the word of life; and there be some godly souls among them, that live thereby. The work is under great incumberments, and discouragements, my heart hath much ado to hold up my head; but doth daily drive me to Christ; I tell the Lord, that it is his word, and your hearts are in his hand, I do therefore commit the whole to the Lord, and leave both it and myself to the Lord, who hath not left me wholly destitute. But I shall give your Honor at present no farther trouble, for I am surprised with this opportunity of writing; therefore, committing your Honor to the Lord, I rest

your Honor's to serve you
in the Lord,
JOHN ELIOT.

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## LETTER VI.

Roxbury, Nov. 27, 1683.

*Right Honorable, right charitable, indefatigable, nursing father,*

Although my hasty venturing to begin the impression of the Old Testament before I had your Honor's (*fiat*) may have moved (as some intimate) some disgust, yet I see that your love, bounty and charity, doth still breathe out encouragement unto the work, by supplies of four hundred and sixty pounds unto the work, for which I do humble thankfulness unto your honor, and take boldness to entreat favour for two requests.

First, I pray, that you would please to accept an apology for my haste. I am deep in years, and sundry say, if I do not procure it printed while I live it is not within the prospect of human reason, whether ever, or when, or how it may be accomplished. It is Christ's work and for the good of souls, which is my charge to attend, and run adventures to accomplish, especially when divine providence brought into my hand some small encouragement to begin. But if this apology be short (though capable of much enlargement) yet then,

My second humble request is, you would please to draw a curtain of love over all my failures, bacause love will cover a multitude of transgressions. The work goeth on now, with more comfort, though we have had many

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impediments, partly by the sickness of the workmen, for it is a very sickly and mortal time with us, as also the rigor of the winter doth now obstruct us. The work goeth on, I praise God; the Sabbath is sanctified in many places, and they have still fragments of their old bibles which they make constant use of.

I desire to take boldness to propose a request. A vessel carried away a great number of our surprised Indians, in the times of our wars, to sell them for slaves; but the nations, whither she went would not buy them. Finally, she left them at Tangier; there they be, so many as live or learn, there. An Englishman, a mason, came thence to Boston, he told me, they desired I would use some means for their return home. I know not what to do in it; but now it is in my heart to move your honor so to mediate that they may have leave to get home, either from thence hither, or from thence to England, and so to get home. If the Lord shall please to move your charitable heart herein, I shall be obliged in great thankfulness, and am persuaded, that Christ will at the great day, reckon it among your deeds of charity done unto them for his name's sake. But I shall give your honor no further trouble at present. I humbly request your prayers for me. So commending you to the Lord, and to the word of his grace, I rest,

your Honor's to serve you
in our Lord Jesus,
JOHN ELIOT.

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## LETTER VII.

Roxbury, April 22, 1684.

*Right Honorable and indefatigable benefactors,*

"This last gift of four hundred pounds for the reimpression of the Indian Bible doth set a diadem of beauty upon all your former acts of pious charity, and commandeth us to return unto your honors all thankful acknowledgments according to our abilities. It pleased the worshipful Mr. Stoughton, to give me an intimation, that your honors desired to know the particular present state of the praying Indians;* and also, when Moses' Pentateuch is printed, to have some copies sent over, to evidence the real and good progress of the work.

"Your Honor's intimation hath the force of a command upon me, and therefore I shall briefly relate the religious walking and ways of the praying Indians. They do diligently observe and keep the Sabbath, in all the places of their public meetings to worship God. The example of the English churches, and the authority of the English laws, which Major Gookin doth declare unto them, together with such mulcts, as are inflicted upon transgressors; as also and especially, the clear and express command

* It is hoped the reader will excuse our repeating an account of the praying towns. Mr. Gookin's account in the last chapter was given in 1674, this is in 1684. Mr. Eliot mentions some particulars that Gookin has omitted. It also exhibits their state ten years later. This will justify its insertion.

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of God which they and their children learn and rehearse daily in their Catechisms; these all together have fully possessed and convinced them of their duty to keep holy the Sabbath-day. So that the sanctifying the Sabbath is a great eminent part of their religion. And though some of the vain and carnal sort among them are not so girt to it, as were to be desired, yet the grave and religious sort do constantly worship God, every Sabbath-day, both morning and evening, as the English do.

"The acts of worship which they perform in their public meetings are as followeth."

The manner of conducting their public meetings as described by Eliot and that described by Gookin in the preceding chapter are so similar that we shall omit this part of the letter.

After the letter had described their manner of conducting their public assemblies it proceeds to state, "moreover, Major Gookin hath dedicated his eldest son, Mr. Daniel Gookin, unto the service of Christ; he is a pious and learned young man, about thirty three years old, hath been eight years a fellow of the College; he hath taught and trained up two classes of young Scholars, unto their commencement; he is a man, whose abilities are above exception, though not above envy. His father, with his inclination, advised him to Sherburne, a small village near Natick, whose meeting house is about three miles, more or less, from Natick meeting-house. Mr. Gookin holdeth a

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Lecture in Natick meeting-house once a month; which many English, especially of Sherburne, do frequent. He first preacheth in English, to the English audience, and then the same matter is delivered to the Indians, by an interpreter, whom, with much pains, Mr. Gookin hath fore prepared. We apprehend that this will (by God's blessing) be a means to enable the Indians to understand religion preached in the English tongue, and will much further Mr. Gookin in learning the Indian tongue. Likewise Major Gookin holdeth and manageth his Courts in the English tongue, which doth greatly further the Indians in learning law and government in the English tongue; which is a point of wisdom in civilizing them, that your honors have manifested your desires, that it might be attained.

The places where the Indians meet to worship God and sanctify the Sabbath, are many; the most are stated places, others are occasional.

The stated places in the Massachusetts, since the wars, are contracted into four, Natick, Punkapaog, Wamesit and Chachaubunkkakowok. The occasional meetings are at places of fishing, hunting, gathering chestnuts in their seasons. Also since the wars, the Mauquaoys, making incursions upon the praying Indians, did cause them to make divers forts, to live safely in, and then they did there meet to worship God and keep the Sabbath.

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In Plymouth Patent there are about ten places where they meet to worship God.

An intelligent person of Martha's Vineyard, reckoned up unto me ten places, where God is worshipped every Lord's day in that Island.

At Nantucket there be about five places of prayer and keeping Sabbaths.

Thus I have briefly represented before you, right Honorable, at your command, the present state of praying Indians, in respect of their religion. And, what I have here expressed, for the substance of the things, I know them to be true.

By this it appeareth, that they are, in some good measure, able, by the light of the scriptures and by the examples of the churches of Christ and by such instruction as they have had,) to practise and manage the whole instituted public worship of God among themselves, without the presence or inspection of any English among them, which is no small addition and advancement of the kingdom of Christ; and I doubt not but it shall add much comfort and joy to your souls here, and shall add much weight of glory hereafter, who have been so diligent, liberal and constant in your supplies for the encouragement of this work of Jesus Christ. And it is no small comfort to me, whom divine Providence and grace hath made one of the *poor instruments*, to instruct and manage them unto this estate in Christ Jesus, whereunto they have attained.

As for the sending any number of Moses' Pen-



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tateuch, I beseech you honors to spare us in that; because so many as we send, so many bibles are maimed, and made incomplete, because they want the five books of Moses. We present your honors with one book, so far as we have gone in that work and humbly beseech you that it may be acceptable until the whole be finished; and then the whole impression (which is two thousand) is at your honor's command. Our slow progress needeth an apology. We have been much hindered by the sickness this year. Our workmen have been all sick, and we have but few hands, one Englishmen and a boy and one Indian; and many interruptions and diversions do befall us; and we could do but little this very hard winter. But I shall give your honors no further trouble at this time; only requesting the continuance of your prayers and protection. So I remain,

your Honor's to serve you
in our Lord Jesus,
JOHN ELIOT.

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## LETTER VIII.

Roxbury, August, 29, 1686,
in the third month of our overthrow.*

*Right Honorable, unweariable nursing father,*

I have nothing new to write but lamentations, and I am loth to grieve your loving and noble soul.

Our Indian work yet liveth, praised be God; the Bible is come forth, many hundreds bound up, and dispensed to the Indians, whose thankfulness I intimate and testify to your honor. The Practice of Piety is also finished, and beginneth to be bound up. And my humble request to your honor is, that we may again repose the Primer and Catechism; for though the last impression be not quite spent, yet quickly they will; and I am old, ready to be gone, and desire to leave as many books as I can. I know not what to add in this distressing day of our overthrow! so I commit your honor to the Lord, and rest

your honor's to serve you
in Jesus Christ,
JOHN ELIOT.

* This date is supposed to allude to the arrival of Sir Edmund Andros who was appointed Governor General of all New-England. Heretofore the governors had been elected by the people. Now the Colonies were required to surrender their charters and receive such a Governor as the King was pleased to send them.

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## LETTER IX.

Roxbury, July 7, 1688.

*Right Honorable, deep learned, abundantly charitable and constant nursing father,*

SIR,

I am drawing near home, and am glad of an opportunity to take my leave of your honor with all thankfulness. Sir, many years since you pleased to commit thirty pounds into my hand, upon a design of promoting Christ's Kingdom among the Indians; which gift of yours I have religiously kept, waiting for an opportunity so to improve it; but God hath not pleased yet to open such a door. I am old and desire to finish that matter, and take the boldness to request your honor that it may be thus disposed of. It being in the hands of Major Gookin's relict widow, and he died poor, though full of good works and greatly beneficent to the Indians, and bewailed by them to this day; therefore let his widow have ten pounds, his eldest son, who holds up a Lecture among the Indians and English ten pounds, and the third ten pounds give to Mr. John Cotton, who helped me much in the second edition of the Bible. And also I must commit to him the care and labour of the revisal of two other small treatises, viz. Mr. Shepherd's Sincere Convert and Sound Believer, which I translated into the Indian language many years since; and now I hope that the Honorable Corporation will be at the charge to print them, by

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your Honor's favour and countenance. But I cannot commit them to the press without a careful revisal, which none but Mr. Cotton is able to help me to perform. The work in general seemeth to my soul to be in and well towards a revising. Many Churches of Confessors of Christ are in motion to gather into Church estate, who do carefully keep the Sabbath. And out of these professors of religion, we do gather up and call in such as are willing to confess Jesus Christ, and seek salvation by him. Touching other matters, what our losses and charges be and how trading, &c. are spoiled, I am silent; but my prayer to God is, Isaiah i. 25, 26, *And I will put my hand upon thee and purely purge away thy dross, and take away all thy sin, and I will restore thy judges as at the first, and thy Counsellors as at the beginning*, &c. So do, O Lord. Sir, the Lord prolong your days, and fill you with all grace, until you arrive at the fulness of glory, where I leave you, and rest

your Honor's to serve you
in Jesus Christ,
JOHN ELIOT.



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## CHAPTER XVIII.

### THE LAST DAYS AND DEATH OF ELIOT.

*Dr. Mather gives the following account of the close of Eliot's life and labors.*

WHEN he began to draw near his end, he grew still more *heaveuly, more savory, more divine!* As the historian observes of Tiberius, that when his life and strength were going from him, his vice yet remained on him, on the contrary the grace of this excellent man rather increased than abated, when every thing else was dying with him.

It is too usual with old men, that, when they are past work, they are least sensible of their inabilities and incapacities, and can scarce endure to see another succeeding them in any point of their office; but our Eliot was of a temper quite contrary; for finding many months before his expiration, that he had not strength enough to edify his congregation with public prayers and sermons, he importuned his people with some impatience to call another minister; professing himself unable to die with comfort, until he could see a good successor ordained, settled and fixed among them. For this cause, he also cried mightily unto God, that he would give such a gift unto Roxbury;

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and he sometimes called his whole town together, to join with him in a fast for such a blessing.

As the return of their supplications, our Lord quickly bestowed upon them a person young in years, but old in discretion, gravity and experience; and one whom the Church at Roxbury hopes to find *a pastor after God's own heart.* It was Mr. Nehemiah Walter, who, being by the unanimous vote and choice of the Church there, become the pastor of Roxbury, immediately found the venerable Eliot embracing, and cherishing him with the tender affection of a father. The good old man, like old Aaron, as it were disrobed himself with an unspeakable satisfaction, when he beheld his garments put on a son so dear to him.*

After this, he, for a year or two before his translation, could scarce be persuaded into any public service, but humbly pleaded, what none but he would ever have said, "It would be wrong to the souls of the people, for him to do any thing among them, when they were sup-

* Mr. Walter was ordained Oct. 17, 1688. He continued the Pastor of this Church above sixty years, and died Sept. 17, 1750, aged 87. Eliot said that Mr. Walter would be a most brilliant light of the New-England Churches. The expectations of Eliot were realized. Dr. Colman remarked concerning him, "When one is hearing Mr. Walter, it seems as if any man could preach so, yet few can equal him." Mr. Pemberton used to say, "I know no man that, in his preaching reconciles perspicuity with accuracy like Mr. Walter. *Eliot's New-England Biography.*

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plied so much to their advantage." If I mistake not, the last time that ever he preached was on a public fast; when he fed his people with a very distinct and useful exposition upon the eighty third psalm; and concluded with an apology, begging his hearers to pardon the *poorness and meanness and brokenness*, (as he called it,) of his meditations; but, added he, "my dear brother here will by and by mend all."

But, although he thus dismissed himself, as one so near the age of ninety might well have done from his public labors; yet he would not give over his endeavours, in a more private way, *to do good unto all.* He had always been an enemy unto idleness. Any one that should look into the little diary that he kept in his almanacks, would see that there was "no day without a line." And now he grew old, he was desirous that his work should hold pace with his life. The less time he saw left, the less he was willing to lose. He imagined that he could now do nothing to any purpose in any service for God; and sometimes he would say, with an air peculiar to himself, "*I wonder for what the Lord Jesus Christ lets me live; he knows that how I can do nothing for him!*" and yet he could not forbear essaying to do something for his Lord! wherefore, thought he, "what shall I do? And he then conceived, that though the English could not be benefitted by any gifts which he now fancied himself to have only the ruins of, yet who can tell but the ne-

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roes might! He had long lamented, that the nglish used their negroes but as their horses f oxen, and that so little care was taken about eir souls. He looked upon it as a prodigy, at any wearing the names of Christians, ould confine the souls of their miserable aves to a destroying ignorance, merely for ar of thereby loosing the benefit of their vas-lage. But now he made a motion to the nglish, within two, or three miles of him, at at such a time and place, they would send eir negroes once a week to him; for he ould then catechise them, and enlighten them the utmost of his power in the things of eir everlasting peace. However, he did not ve to make much progress in this undertak-ng.

At length, when he was able to do little without doors, he tried then to do something within. And one thing was this. A young boy in the neighbourhood had, in his infancy, fallen into a fire; so as to burn himself into a perfect blindness; but this boy being now grown to some bigness, the good old man took him home to his house, with some intentions to make a scholar of him.

He first informed him from the scriptures, in which the boy so profited, that in a little time, he could even repeat whole chapters verbatim; and if any other in reading missed a word, he would remind them of it; yea, an ordinary piece of Latin was become easy to the lad. But having his own eyes closed by death, he

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could no longer help the poor child against th
want of his.

"Thus, as the aged Polycarp could sa
'These eighty six years have I served m
Lord Jesus Christ; and he has been such
good master to me all this while, that I w
not now forsake him'—such a Polycarp w
our Eliot! He had been so many years e
gaged in the service of his dear Saviour, th
he would now give it over; it was his ambiti
and his privilege, *to bring forth fruit in old ag*
and what veneration the Church of Smyrna pa
unto that angel of theirs, we were, upon t
like account, willing to give unto this man
God.

"While he was making his retreat out of this
evil world, his discourses, from time to time,
ran upon the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ.
It was the theme which he still had recourse
unto; and we were sure to have something
of *this*, whatever other subject he were upon.
On *this* he talked; of *this* he prayed; for *this*
he longed; and, especially when any bad news
arrived, his usual reflection thereupon would
be, "Behold some of the clouds, in which we
must look for the coming of the son of man!"

At last, his Lord, for whom he had been long
wishing, came. '*Lord, come; I have been a*
*great while ready for thy coming!*"—at last his
Lord came, and fetched him away unto his
joy.

He fell into some languishments, attended
with a fever, which in a few days brought him

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to the pangs (may I say? or the joy) of eath; and while he lay in these, Mr. Walter oming to him, he said unto him, '*Brother, ou art welcome to my very soul. Pray, retire y study for me, and give me leave to be gone*;' eaning that he should not, by petitions to eaven for his life detain him here. It was n these languishments, that, speaking about the ork of the gospel among the Ind ans, he did fter this heavenly manner expres himself; '*There is a cloud, a dark cloud, upon the work f the gospel upon the poor Indians. The Lord evive and prosper that work, and grant it may ve when I am dead! It is a work which I have een doing much and long about. But what was he word I spoke last? I recal that word 'my oings!' alas, they have been poor and small and ean doings, and I will be the man that shall throw he first stone at them all.*'

One of his last words was, 'Welcome, joy!' and he departed calling upon the standers-by, '*Pray, pray, pray*;' This was the peace in the end, *of this perfect and upright man.* What shall we now say? Our Eliot himself used most affectionately to bewail the death of all good men; yet if one brought him the notice of such a thing with any despondencies, or said 'O Sir, such an one is dead, what shall we do?' he would answer—"*Well, but God lives! Christ lives! the Saviour of New-England yet lives! and he will reign till all his enemies are made his footstool.*' This and only this consideration have we to relieve us; and let it be

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accompanied with our addresses *to the God of the spirits of all flesh*, that there may be Timothies raised up in the room of our departed Pauls; and that when our Moseses are gone, the spirit which was in these brave men, may be put upon the surviving Elders of our Israel."

Mr. Eliot died in 1690, aged 86.

## CHAPTER XIX.

### HIS GENERAL CHARACTER.

He was *a man of Prayer*. He not only made it his daily practice to *enter into his closet, and shut his door, and pray to his Father in secret;* but he would not rarely, set apart days for fasting and prayer. Especially when there was any remarkable difficulty before him, he took this way to encounter and overcome it; being of Dr. Preston's mind, that when we would accomplish any great things, the best policy is to work by an engine which the world sees nothing of." He kept his heart in a frame for prayer with a marvellous constancy; and was continually provoking thereto all that was about him.

"When he heard of any considerable news,

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is usual and speedy reflection thereon would be, '*Brethren, let us turn all this into prayer!*' When he entered a house where he was familiar, he would often say, '*come, let us not have a visit without a prayer; let us pray down the blessing of heaven on your family before we go.*' Where especially he came into the company of ministers, before he had sat long with them they would look to hear him urging—'*Brethren, the Lord Jesus takes much notice of what is done and said among his ministers when they are together. Come, let us pray before we part.*' He was a mighty and a happy man, that had his quiver full of these heavenly arrows of ejaculatory prayer; and when he was never so straitly besieged by human occurrences, yet he fastened the wishes of his devout soul unto them, and very dexterously shot them up to heaven over the head of all.

"In serious and savory *Discourse*, his tongue was *like the pen of a ready writer.* He was, indeed sufficiently pleasant and witty in conversation; but he had a remarkable gravity mixed with it, and a singular skill in raising some holy observations out of whatever matter of discourse lay before him. Doubtless he imposed it as a law upon himself, that he would leave something of God and heaven and religion with all that should come near him, so that in all places his company was attended with majesty and reverence.

"He was *a mighty Student of the Bible.* It was unto him as his *necessary food;* nor would



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he, upon easy terms, have gone one day together without using a portion of the scriptures as an antidote against the infection of temptation, and would prescribe this to others.

"He had a *high reverence for the house of God.* If ever any man could, he might pretend unto that evidence of uprightness, Lord, *I have loved the habitation of thy house.* It is hardly conceivable, how, in the midst of so many studies and labours as he was engaged in at home, he could possibly repair so frequently to the ministry of others. Here he expressed a diligent attention by a watchful and wakeful posture, and by turning to the texts quoted by the preacher; and they whose good hap it was to go home with him, were sure of having another sermon by the way.

"His *observance of the Sabbath was remarkable.* He knew that our whole religion fares according to our Sabbaths; that poor Sabbaths make poor christians; and that a strictness in our Sabbaths, inspires a vigor into all our other duties. Hence, in his work among the Indians, he brought them by a particular article, to bind themselves, as a principal means of confirming them in christianity, 'To remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy, as long as we live.' For himself, the sun did not set, the evening before the Sabbath, till he had begun his preparations for it. Every day was a sort of Sabbath to him: but the Sabbath-day was with him a type and foretaste of heaven; nor would you hear any thing drop from his

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ips on that day but the milk and honey of that country, in which there yet *remaineth a rest for the people of God.*

"His *mortification* was exemplary. Never did I see a person more dead to all the sinful pleasures of this life. He became so nailed unto the cross of the Lord Jesus Christ, that the grandeurs of this world were unto him just what they would be to a dying man. Early from his bed, and abstemious in his diet, he endeavoured to draw others to partake with him in the pleasures which he derived therefrom. When especially he thought the countenance of a minister showed that he made much of himself, he would say, '*Study mortification, brother! Study mortification!*' modest in his own apparel, when he once saw some scholars, whom he thought a little too gaudy in their clothes; Humiliamini, Juvenes, humiliamini, (away with your vanities, young men, away with your vanities;) was his immediate compliment to them.

"His *Charity* was a star of the first magnitude in the bright constellation of his virtues, and the rays of it were various and extensive.

"His liberality went much beyond the proportion of his little estate in the world; and he would, with a forcible importunity, press his neighbours to join with him in his acts of beneficence. The poor counted him their fa-

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ther ;* and repaired unto him with a filial confidence, in all their necessities. And when his age had unfitted him for almost all employment, he would sometimes answer when asked how he did ; *alas ! my understanding leaves me ; my memory fails me ; but I thank God my charity holds out still. I find that rather grow than fail.*

"His Charity led him also to peace.—When he heard any ministers complain, that such and such in their flocks were too difficult for them, the strain of his answer still was—'Brother, compass them !' and, 'Brother, learn the meaning of these three little words—*Bear*, *Forbear*, *Forgive*.' Nay, his love of

* So great was Mr. Eliot's charity, that his salary was often distributed for the relief of his needy neighbours so soon after the period at which he received it, that before another period arrived, his own family were straitened for the comforts of life. One day the Parish Treasurer on paying the money for salary due, which he put into a handkerchief, in order to prevent Mr. Eliot from giving away his money before he got home, tied the ends of the handkerchief in as many hard knots as he could. The good man received his handkerchief, and took leave of the Treasurer. He immediately went to the house of a sick and necessitous family. On entering, he gave them his blessing, and told them God had sent them some relief. The sufferers with tears of gratitude welcomed their pious benefactor, who with moistened eyes began to untie the knots in his handkerchief. After many efforts to get at his money, and impatient at the perplexity and delay, he gave the handkerchief and all the money to the mother of the family, saying with a trembling accent ; "here my dear, take it ; I believe the Lord designs it all for you."

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peace sometimes almost made him to sacrifice light itself. When there was laid before an assembly of ministers a bundle of papers, which contained certain matters of contention between some persons, which our Eliot thought would rather unite with an amnesty on all their former quarrels he, with some imitation of what Constantine did on a similar occasion, hastily threw the papers into the fire before them all, and immediately said, '*Brethren, wonder not at what I have done, I did it on my knees this morning before I came among you.*'

"His *Resignation* to the will of God was very great. Some afflictions befel him, especially when he was called to follow his hopeful and worthy sons, some of them desirable preachers, to their graves; but he sacrificed them like another Abraham with such a sacred indifference, as made all the spectators to say, 'This could not be done without the fear of God!' yea, he bore all his trials with admirable patience, and seemed loth to have any will of his own, that should not be wholly melted and moulded into the will of his heavenly Father.

"When sinking at sea, the boat in which he was having been upset by a larger vessel, and he imagined he had but one more breath to draw in this world, it was, '*The will of the Lord be done!*'

"He arrived, indeed, at a remarkable *health of soul;* and he was kept in a blessed measure, clear of those distempers which too often dis-



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order the most of men. By living near to God and *dwelling as under the shadow of the Almighty*, he contracted a more exquisite sense of mind than is usual among christians. If he said of any affair, 'I cannot bless it!' it was worse to it than the most inauspicious presages in the world."

Such is the picture of this exalted man, drawn by one who had the advantage of long and intimate converse with him, and exhibited before multitudes, who were the most competent judges of its fidelity. His attention was wholly taken up with his professional duties. He left the management of his temporal concerns altogether with his wife.

Mather says, that one day some of his own cattle stood before the door, his wife, to try him, asked him whose they were, she found as she had expected, that he knew nothing of the matter.

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## CHAPTER XX.

### HIS CHARACTER AS A MINISTER.

"THE grace of God, which we have seen so illustriously endowing our Eliot, disposed him to the sacred employment wherein he spent about sixty years of his life. To this work he applied himself wholly, and undertook it, I believe, (says Dr. Mather) with as right motives, as ever actuated the mind of man.

"He had that good measure of *learning* which is needful to his *rightly dividing the word of truth.* He was a very acute grammarian; and understood well the languages in which God first wrote the holy Bible. He had a sharp insight into the liberal arts; and made little systems of them for the use of certain Indians of whose exacter education he was desirous. Above all, he had a most eminent skill in Theology; *mighty in the word,* he was *able to convince gain-sayers;* and on all occasions, *to show himself a workman that needed not to be ashamed.*

"His way of preaching was very plain and withall very powerful. His delivery was graceful; but when he was to use reproofs and warnings against any sin, his voice would rise into great warmth and energy; he would

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brandish the sword and sound the trumpet of God against all vice with a most penetrating liveliness; and I observed that there was a remarkable fervor in the rebukes which he bestowed upon a carnal spirit and life in professors of religion. There was evermore much of Christ in his preaching; and, with St. Paul he could say, *I am determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified;* from this inclination it was, that though he printed several books, yet his heart seemed not so much in any of them, as in that serious and savoury book of his entitled, 'The Harmony of the gospels, in the Holy History of Jesus Christ;' and hence it was that he would give that advice to young preachers; 'Pray let there be much of Christ in your ministry.' Moreover, he liked no preaching, but that which had been well studied for; and he would very much commend a sermon, which he could perceive required some good thinking and reading in the preacher. And yet he looked for something in the study of a sermon beyond the mere study of man; he was for preaching from those impressions and with those affections which might compel the hearers to acknowledge therein, the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit.

"He was very laborious in the *Catechising of children;* he kept up that great ordinance, both publickly and privately; and spent therein a world of time. It would hardly be credited, if I should relate what pains he took to

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keep up the blessed echoes of truth between himself and the young people of his congregation; and what prudence he used in suiting his Catechisms to the age and strength of his little charge. He composed various Catechisms, which were more particularly designed to guard his own people against such errors as might threaten any peculiar danger. And the success of this labor was in proportion to the indefatigable industry with which he prosecuted it; for it is a well principled people whom he hath left behind him. As when certain Jesuits were sent among the Waldenses to corrupt their children, they returned with disappointment and confusion, because the children of seven years old were well instructed enough to encounter the most learned of them all; so if any *Seducers were let loose as wolves among the good people of Roxbury, they would find, I am confident, as little prey in that well instructed place as in any part of the country.*"

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## CHAPTER XXI.

### HIS CHARACTER AS A MISSIONARY.

We have reserved this trait in his character till the last, because it was his missionary exertions, principally, that rendered him distinguished, while he lived, and has kept him in remembrance since he died. He was eminent as a christian, and as a christian minister: but as a missionary he was pre-eminent. To form a proper estimate of his character as a missionary, we must take into view the circumstances in which he was placed.

Eliot had not those facilities for civilizing and christianizing the Indians that missionaries have at the present day. Connected with the missionary establishments at Brainerd, Eliot Mayhew, &c. there is a practical farmer, and mechanics of various descriptions, to teach them agriculture and the mechanic arts.

These establishments are patronised by the christian public and the national government. Eliot commenced his missionary work unpatronised, either by civil rulers or by the Church of God. He had no coadjutors in the work of their civilization. He laments the want of such assistance. "Our work of civilizing

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them goes on slowly for want of tools; for though I have bought a few for them, we can do but little;" again, "had we but the means of maintaining a diligent and discreet man to work with them and guide them in their work, that also would much promote our success." He thought it necessary to furnish them with tools and procure persons to reside among them to teach them the arts of civilized life. These are the means that are now in operation to civilize the Indians at the missionary stations among the Cherokees, Chickasaws and Chocktaws.

The Indians had no written language. He had to learn their language by intercourse with them, systematize and arrange it, and then translate the Bible into it. He preached to them in their own native tongue. Efforts to convert the heathen to the Christian faith, were in his day very rare. Eliot stands in the same relation to the missionary exertions of the present day, as Wickliff, John Huss and Jerome of Prague, stood to the Reformation of Luther. They preached essentially the same doctrines, entertained the same views of the corruptions of the Church of Rome that Luther and his associates did in the beginning of the sixteenth century. Eliot's views of the duty of christians to propagate the gospel among the heathen and the means by which it must be accomplished, were the same as those now entertained by the friends of missions.

After Eliot had been some time engaged in the missionary cause, the Provincial govern-

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ment so far patronized him, as to grant land for the settlement of his converts, and a Society was formed in England that furnished him with funds. By the liberality of the friends of Christ in England, he was enabled to prosecute his benevolent purposes with more success, than he otherwise could have done. Mr. Eliot began the work with a simple dependence on God. He possessed the spirit of the apostles and martyrs. He subjected himself to great personal inconveniences to preach the gospel to the heathen.

He was conscious that the cause in which he was engaged was the cause of God. This greatly emboldened him to persevere against all opposition. His answer to a Sachem that opposed his design of converting the Indians, is the language of a christian hero; *I told him* (says he) *it was God's work in which I was engaged, that he was with me and that I feared not him nor all the Sachems in the country, that I was resolved to go on, do what they might.*' The same spirit animated Eliot that did the holy apostle. Anticipating the bonds and afflictions which awaited him, when he said, "*none of these things move me; neither count I my life dear unto myself, so that I might finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.*" He was faithful unto death, and then received from his Lord a crown of life. We are commanded to be followers of them who through faith *and patience inherit the promises.*

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The subject of these memoirs was one of the lights with which God illuminates a dark and benighted world.

His character should be carefully studied by every missionary of the cross. They should labor to possess the fidelity, zeal, faith and perseverance that were such prominent traits in the character of Eliot. May the Lord of the harvest raise up many such laborers as was the apostolic Eliot to enter into his harvest.

*May the Heralds of the everlasting gospel, go forth into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature.*



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## CHAPTER XXII.

### CONCLUSION.

In drawing this work to a close, the Compiler thinks it important to make a few brief reflections.

1. We infer from this narrative, the practicability of civilizing and christianizing the Indians.

It is frequently asserted, that the attachment of Indians to their habits, is so strong, that any efforts to civilize them are useless. It is well known that Indians themselves feel an aversion to a change, either in their habits of living, or in their religion. This attachment is forcibly expressed by a Pawnee chief, in a speech made to the President of the United States at Washington, February 4, 1822. "My Great Father, Some of your good chiefs as they are called (missionaries) have proposed to send some of their good people among us to change our habits, to make us work and live like the white people. I will not tell a lie—I am going to tell the truth. You love your country—you love your people—you love the manner in which they live, and you think your people brave.

"I am like you, my great Father, I love my country—I love my people, I love the manner

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in which we live, and think myself and warriors brave—spare me then, my great Father, let me enjoy my country, and pursue the buffalo and the beaver, and the other wild animals of our country.

"I have grown up and lived thus long without work—I am in hopes you will suffer me to die without it. We have plenty of buffalo, beaver, deer, and other wild animals; we have also an abundance of horses, we have every thing we want—we have plenty of land, if you will keep your people off of it.

"It is too soon, my great Father, to send those good men among us—we are not starving yet—we wish you to permit us to enjoy the chase, until the game of our country is exhausted—until the wild animals become extinct. Let us exhaust our present resources before you make us toil and interrupt our happiness—let me continue to live as I have done, and after I have passed to the good, or evil spirit, from off the wilderness of my present life, the substance of my children may become so precarious as to need and embrace the assistance of those good people."

The same attachment to their ancient customs was felt by the Indians in the days of Eliot. Unkas, a Mohegan Sachem, was greatly disturbed, when he heard that Mr. Eliot had proposed to the Commissioners, a general plan to civilize and christianize the Indians. He went to Hartford to intreat the General Assembly, that his Indians might not be taught to

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pray to God. Another Sachem told him that all the Sachems in the country were against his building a town and introducing civil order among Indians. But the perseverance and heroism of this indefatigable missionary of the cross, overcame these difficulties. Many of the natives that had been accustomed to follow the chase to procure their subsistence, subdued their propensity for roving, and settled down into the habits of civilized life.

In the year 1674, he had collected fourteen towns of this description of Indians. In these towns the worship of God was maintained and civil affairs administered principally by the Indians themselves. He taught many of them to read, and published two editions of the Bible of two thousand copies each, in the native dialect; and we have reason to believe that many hundred souls of Indians, who were the fruit of Mr. Eliot's ministry, are now rejoicing in glory. With these facts before us, how can we doubt the practicability of civilizing and christianizing the Indians? are they attached to their habits of living, do they love to pursue the buffalo, the bear and beaver through their own forests? So did the Indians, when Eliot first began his labors among them. Do the Indians of the present day feel attached to their own modes of worshiping the great Spirit? So did the Indians in the days of Eliot.

There is not one objection which can now be made to engaging in this work, which was not then made. If the faith and perseverance

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of Eliot overcame all difficulties in his day, then may they be surmounted in our day. There was a time, when our ancestors, the ancient Britons, were as much attached to the Druidical rites of worship, and the savage mode of life, as the Indians of the North American forests now are. When Julius Cæsar invaded Britain the inhabitants were as far from civilization as the savages in our western wilderness are at the present day. If it was practicable to civilize ancient Britons, why is it not practicable to civilize the red people of the west?

It was by means of missionary exertions, that the light of the gopel first shone upon the British Isles. Missionaries came from the continent and preached the unsearchable riches of Christ to our *savage heathen ancestors.* They listened to these servants of the most high God, who showed unto them the way of salvation. They forsook the altars of heathen idolatry; ceased to offer human victims; and deserted the temples erected to the worship of their idol gods. They became the humble and devout worshippers of the only living and true God. God can with as much ease now soften and subdue the savage temper, as he did then. Eliot, with very little assistance from others, in the early days of New-England, accomplished great things among the aboriginal inhabitants, and shall not the friends of missions by their united exertions, attempt greater things than these?

2. We remark; that the practicability of



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civilizing and christianizing the Indians, lays us under obligations to do it.

We are under no obligations to impart instruction to the inhabitants of distant planets; for we have no means of holding communication with them. We are under no obligation to communicate the knowledge of Christ to the inhabitants of any undiscovered islands in the seas; if such exist. But we have certain knowledge of the existence of the Indian tribes. We have the means of communicating instruction to them. We have men among us that are willing to go to them, and spend their lives in instructing them in the knowledge of God and in the arts of civilized life. We cannot plead poverty, as an excuse for not engaging in this work. No nation is in a more prosperous condition than the United States. No people, in proportion to their number, are capable of doing more in works of religious charity than the citizens of these States.

We should ever remember, that it was the property of the Indians that laid the foundation of our prosperity. The whole land which we occupy was the property of the Indians. We have never paid them an equivalent for their lands. Large tracts of land were purchased of them for trifling sums. We owe them a debt which we can in no way pay but by imparting to them the blessings of civilization and christianity.

3. This narrative furnishes encouragement for us to engage in missionary enterprise.

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Eliot lived at a day, in which there was little done to propagate the gospel. He and his fellow pilgrims, that planted the New England Churches, were persecuted in the land of their nativity. They fled to this new world that they might worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. After they arrived here they had to form their system of Church government. It was their object to establish these Churches on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner stone. They desired greater purity in worship and in practice than they then found in the established Church. In this western world, they established their Churches on what they considered the primitive foundation. They had also to contend with the hardships of a new country. After they had been here a few years, the attention of Eliot was turned to the heathen around him. When he saw the wretchedness of their situation; his heart was touched with compassion towards them. He could have no peace until he had began his missionary labours. The success that attended him was far greater than he had even anticipated. The success that attended Eliot should stimulate us to exertion, at the present day. The slothful and unbelieving may say, that "*there is a lion in the way; there is a lion in the streets;*" but the faithful and believing will look at obstacles only, as so many motives to vigorous exertion. Let the friends of Zion only persevere in their exer-

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tions to convert the heathen, and speedily "every valley will be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low; and the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain. And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed; and all flesh shall see it together. God will give to his Son the heathen for an inheritance; and the uttermost parts of the earth for a possession." The Indian tribes of our own forests are certainly included among the heathen that are to be given to Christ. But they can become his only through the means of his own appointment. They are to be saved by the instrumentality of preaching. They must hear of Christ before they can believe on him. "*How can they call on him in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?*" There is no possibility of their believing on Christ and being saved, unless preachers are sent to them. The command of our dying Lord still stands unrevoked, "*go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature.*" Those that go forth in obedience to this command, may still claim the promise, "*lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world.*" There is the same encouragement to make exertions in the cause of Christ now, that there was immediately after his ascension. Yea, at no period since the commencement of the christian era, has there been so much encouragement to make exertions to extend the Redeemer's kingdom, as

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t the present time. The christian world has woke from the slumber of ages. Bible, Missionary, Tract and Education Societies have risen and acquired a maturity, unparalleled in he history of the Church. Had any man half century ago, ventured to predict such a state f things, his friends would have cried out in he language of the unbelieving lord, "*behold, f the Lord would make windows in heaven, might his thing be?*" The march of this cause is till *onward.* Every revolving year brings with it new accessions of strength and numbers. Especially the friends to civilizing and christianizing the Indians have greatly increased. The Congress of the United States have appropriated ten thousand dollars a year to assist in this cause. Some of the tribes themselves are beginning to value the institutions of religion and the arts of civilized life. The Chocktaws have pledged the annual sum of six thousand dollars, to be received by them from the government, during the whole time, it shall be paid, that is, for sixteen or seventeen years to come, for the instruction of themselves and children in christianity and civilization. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, have already forty two persons resident among them, whose lives are devoted to civilizing and christianizing them. What professed follower of Christ is there, whose heart is so hard, that he is unwilling to contribute to the support of these "*who have forsaken houses and brethren, and sisters and*

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*mothers for Christ's sake and the gospels?*" I any, they can have no portion of the spirit o Christ. The spirit of Christ is a benevolent spirit. It embraces as the objects of its charity, both the body and the souls of men. The soul especially it regards as of immense value. It is charity of the highest kind to afford means of salvation to those, who are perishing for lack of vision. Whosoever shall contribute only a small sum to this object from right motives, Christ will regard it as an act of kindness done to himself, and the contributor will in the day of judgment, in no wise lose his reward.

He shall hear his omnipotent Judge say, *inasmuch as ye have done this, unto the least of these, ye have done it unto me. Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.*

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